IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

STUDENTS FOR FAIR ADMISSIONS, * INC.,

* Case No. 1:14CV954 Plaintiff,

VS.

November 19, 2020

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, *

* Volume 9

et al.,

* Pages 1375-1484

Defendants. ******

TRANSCRIPT OF TRIAL CLOSING ARGUMENTS

BEFORE THE HONORABLE LORETTA C. BIGGS UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

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PROCEEDINGS 1 2 (All parties present.) 3 THE COURT: All right. It appears that we're at the 4 conclusion of the trial. We're about to hear closing 5 arguments. Are there issues that we need to address before we hear 6 7 closing arguments? 8 MR. FITZGERALD: No, Your Honor. 9 THE COURT: I'm sorry. Go ahead. 10 MR. FITZGERALD: No, I was saying no, Your Honor. THE COURT: Oh. Thank you. 11 12 My deputy clerk is going to time you. For Plaintiff and Defendant, it will be no more than one-and-a-half hours. You 13 can certainly do less. And then the Intervenors have asked for 14 15 20 minutes. She will give you each a two-minute warning. So with that said, I would call on Students for Fair 16 17 Admissions for their closing. 18 MR. STRAWBRIDGE: Thank you very much, Your Honor. THE COURT: Yes. 19 20 MR. STRAWBRIDGE: May it please the Court, I'm just 21 going to begin briefly by expressing thank you on behalf of 2.2 Students for Fair Admissions to the Court and to the staff that has helped make the trial possible. These are, obviously, very 23 challenging times, but we've been treated so well, not only by 24 the Court and your clerks, but also by Ms. Blay and Ms. Russell

and Mr. Renteria and all the Court Security Officers. We truly appreciate everyone's efforts to make this process work so that this important case can proceed.

And although we, obviously, disagree with opposing counsel on the merits of the case, I, again, do want to put on the record our sincere appreciation to them for their cooperation. This is the model under which practitioners on opposite sides of cases should proceed, and I really do mean that. I thank them for their cooperation.

With that said, we're ready to turn to the issues of this case.

THE COURT: Yes, sir.

MR. STRAWBRIDGE: Those issues are fundamental. They go to the most important promises of our constitution; that the government may not make decisions on the basis of race, except in the most pressing of circumstances.

For purposes of this trial, it is assumed that UNC has a recognized interest in obtaining the educational benefits of diversity, including racial diversity, on campus. UNC would like that to be the end of its case. That's why they have spent so much time emphasizing those benefits. But it's really merely the starting point. Because UNC seeks to take race independent of any other factor into account at all stages of its admissions process, it is subject to a standard that the Supreme Court has set out.

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As Your Honor knows, that standard is strict scrutiny. Racial classifications have to be judged so that they are narrowly tailored to further compelling governmental interest. The university bears the ultimate burden of demonstrating, before turning to racial classifications, that available, workable, race-neutral alternatives do not suffice. That's the standard set forth by Grutter and Fisher. We'll talk a little bit more about that as we go through the closing argument. There are three questions that we talked about in the opening of the trial and that are the focus of our closing today. UNC has failed to define and measure critical mass in a way that ensures that its goal of advancing its interests in the educational efforts of diversity has a definite and measurable ending point. We also -- the evidence has shown that UNC's review is formulaic; race frequently is the defining feature in its admissions decisions; and UNC has failed to give serious, good-faith consideration to race-neutral alternatives. I'm just going to pause for a second and say the one thing you did not hear from me in opening and you will not hear from me in close is that somehow this case comes down to an allegation of cheating at the school group review process. Mr. Fitzgerald liked to focus on that in his opening, and he's raised it occasionally throughout the trial. And I suppose it's understandable that he wants to focus on a claim that was not developed for trial and avoid discussion of the claims for

which the evidence at trial has decidedly weighed against his clients' case.

Moving to the first question as to critical mass -- and I will just tell Your Honor, we have decided to divide this up. I am going to handle the first question. Mr. McCarthy is going to handle the second question. Then I will return to briefly do the third question and wrap up.

The standard for critical mass, which is the only interest the Supreme Court has ever upheld as the goal to achieve the educational benefits of diversity, it was the interest that was asserted by the University of Michigan in *Grutter*; it was the interest that was asserted by the University of Texas in *Fisher*; and that interest is very specific.

As the Court said in Fisher, you can't assert an interest in the educational benefits of diversity writ large. You have to have a goal that is not amorphous, that is sufficiently measurable, that permits judicial scrutiny; and it has to be a concrete and precise goal, so you know when you have reached it, it is no longer necessary to use race. That's the standard set forth in Fisher.

The evidence in this case -- as you know, the university has asserted that it is aiming to enroll critical masses of students, particularly from groups of -- members of groups the university deems underrepresented, in order to obtain the benefits of racial diversity.

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But UNC has not been able to show any evidence in the 17 years since Grutter was decided, or even in the more -- last eight years since Fisher I was decided, as to how they define critical mass, what that goal is, how is it quantifiable in any way, and how will they know when they get there. This is a question that has been on the minds of people at the University of North Carolina. They've known this is a question they need to ask and they need to answer. You can see that here. This is an e-mail from 2013. Ms. Polk, the second in command in the admissions office, wants "How do we define critical mass? Are we attempting to achieve critical mass on a university-wide level, in the residence halls, in the individual classrooms, or all the above? How will we know that critical mass has been achieved, and can we terminate race-conscious admission practices? If not now, when?" Those are the questions that are required by the Supreme Court they answer. But the evidence shows -- we presented some of it at trial, and some of it is in the record through admitted exhibits or through deposition designations -- that there is no definition of critical mass. This is Mr. Farmer's testimony at trial: "You cannot point to any document in the UNC admissions office that attempts to define critical mass, can you?

"Answer: I cannot."

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We had testimony from Taffye Benson Clayton who
    specifically said -- and this is a very keyword -- "Because
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    critical mass is amorphous, there is really no way to make the
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   determination."
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        Amorphous is the exact word the Supreme Court said cannot
   be the nature of the goal. It cannot be an amorphous goal.
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        The same thing with Ms. Polk. This is her designated
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   deposition testimony. "There's no concrete definition.
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    There's nothing that says when you get to X, you will have
   reached critical mass."
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        This goes on and on throughout the admissions office and
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   the university as a whole. The chancellor of the university:
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    "I don't find that term very useful because I don't know what
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   that means."
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        Michael Davis, his trial testimony here:
        "You've heard the term 'critical mass,' but you're not
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   really familiar with what it means, correct?
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        "That is correct."
        The deposition testimony of Yolanda Coleman:
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        "Are you familiar with this term 'critical mass'?
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        "Answer:
                  No.
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             Is that a term that was used in the admissions
   office?
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        "Answer:
                 No, not that I recall."
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        Dr. Kretchmar, who testified here, said it was fair to say
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that during her time in the admissions office she had not had a discussion specifically about how the university is using race to achieve critical mass.

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Now, obviously, having the goal is important, but equally important is that it be measurable; that we know when we're making progress toward the goal. One, that we know why it is necessary to use race and, two, when can we stop using race. And when we turn to the measurement side, the evidence has shown that UNC for, you know, going on nearly two decades from Grutter has not had any way to measure critical mass.

This is Mr. Farmer. As of 2017 -- strike that. I'm sorry. As of 2017, the only formal attempts by UNC to determine if it had obtained critical mass were some climate surveys of the student body, but he admitted that he had not looked at any such climate surveys since 2006. That was more than 10 years ago at the time he gave his testimony in his deposition, and it's been even longer now.

And Lynn Williford's deposition — designated deposition testimony — she's the person in charge of institutional research, including the climate surveys — testified that she had never been asked to measure the extent to which any group on campus had obtained critical mass, and she had never been asked to measure or quantify critical mass for any group on campus. That was her testimony.

Mr. Rosenberg here at trial had no understanding about how

to determine whether UNC has reached critical mass.

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The list goes on and on here. This is a real problem for UNC, especially given the strict scrutiny burden here.

Now, we did hear some testimony from Mr. Farmer about some reports done, and one example was DX3. This is their report on the educational benefits of diversity and inclusion, but you may remember that we asked Mr. Farmer if that report actually contained any definition, quantification, even a range or any sort of measurable effect of critical mass, and he could not point to one. It's merely a 16-page, give or take, report that just talks about the interests that the university has in achieving the educational benefits of diversity. But that is not sufficient. The Supreme Court told us that in Fisher.

Asserting an interest in the educational benefits of diversity writ large is insufficient. That's exactly what this was.

I asked Mr. Farmer about this report. The testimony in the record is that he worked on redrafting this report in one weekend. Obviously, this report arose several years after the lawsuit was filed, and it deserves at least some measure of skepticism then, but even on its own terms, it doesn't actually achieve any definition of critical mass. It doesn't define critical mass, and so it is not sufficient.

And if there were any question about this, the report was given to Mr. Farmer to revise by his boss at the time, who was the executive vice chancellor and provost, James Dean; and

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James Dean's testimony on this point is both decisive and designating because when he was asked whether this report had any connection to what the university -- I'm sorry -- the term "critical mass" had any connection to what the university was trying to achieve with its use of race, he testified that in all his conversations with Steve Farmer, that phrase had never come up. Neither -- "No one has directed anybody to achieve a critical mass, and I'm not even sure we would know what it is."

Why does this matter? It matters because if you don't know what the critical mass that you're attempting to achieve is, you're never going to know when you get there. And the Supreme Court has been clear about this, again, going all the way back to 2003: Race-conscious admissions policies must be limited in time. This requirement reflects that racial classifications, however compelling their goals, are potentially so dangerous that they may be employed no more broadly than the interest demands. They need to have a logical end point.

Those are the words of the Supreme Court, and without a definition of critical mass or a way to measure it or any kind of parameters by which one might understand what are we trying to do and when will we know that we've gotten there, it doesn't have a logical end point.

This was driven home very clearly by the testimony we heard at trial. We'll start with what Mr. Farmer said when asked what critical mass was. This is the closest I think the Court

came to hearing a definition of critical mass at any point in the trial testimony. It "is a complicated idea, a complex idea. It's really about the experience of students in our community, and it's about their ability to contribute fully to the experience of others and also benefit fully from the experience that we offer."

"That is a nice sentiment, but it is not measurable. There is no 'there' there. It has no tangible basis from which one can derive some sort of concrete understanding of what exactly are we trying to do and when will we know we're there so we can stop using race."

And the final punctuation on this point I think came from Ms. Panter, her testimony. She's heading up the group, again, formed long after this litigation began, to actually examine race-neutral alternatives, allegedly in good faith. But Ms. Panter's testimony was that she could not even say if the four racial groups that UNC -- that we've discussed were equally represented on campus, if there were the same percentage of white students, Asian students, African American students, and Hispanic students, even then she would not be able to say if the university was sufficiently racially diverse at that point. She doesn't even know if that would constitute critical mass.

That's disturbing. That's inconsistent with what the Supreme Court required, and I think it underscores UNC does not

have any kind of measuring stick or process or concrete nonelusory goal that would allow them to know when they have achieved critical mass and can stop using race. That in and of itself should be sufficient for them to fail strict scrutiny.

I'll now let Mr. McCarthy address the second question.

THE COURT: Thank you.

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MR. MCCARTHY: Thank you, Your Honor.

And before I address this question, I would like to reiterate Mr. Strawbridge's comments about the appreciation for the Court's time and effort and that of the court staff as well. We appreciate the hospitality. It's been a Herculean effort, I think, by everybody to make this thing go properly. We do appreciate it very much.

In terms of UNC's use of race in admissions, there's an important standard that comes down to two parts. It must be truly -- "truly individualized consideration demands that race be used in a flexible, nonmechanical way"; and, distinctly, "a university's admissions program must remain flexible enough to ensure that each applicant is evaluated as an individual and not in a way that makes an applicant's race or ethnicity the defining feature of his or her application."

What we'll see here with these two distinct requirements:
The statistical and nonstatistical evidence in this case will show, one, that UNC's admissions process is formulaic and mechanical; and, two, that race is a dominant factor in UNC

admissions.

SFFA's statistical case in this case comes by way of Professor Peter Arcidiacono, professor of economics at Duke University. Among other recognition in his field, Professor Arcidiacono is a Fellow of the Econometric Society and a Fellow of the International Association of Applied Econometrics. In the Harvard case, a well-known affirmative action case that has run parallel to this one at times, Judge Allison Burroughs described Professor Arcidiacono as highly respected and well-qualified.

Drawing on his vast experience and expertise in the area of discrete choice modeling, Professor Arcidiacono estimated a logit model, the output of which yields a formula that approximates UNC's admissions process. Using the iterative process commonly employed in this field, Professor Arcidiacono made seven versions of his model. His updated Model 4, he testified, is his preferred model. Notable, that model includes the five ratings assigned by UNC's application readers.

Deposition testimony in this case designated for trial here shows that UNC's own data analytic subcommittee found that including those five UNC ratings is important to modeling their admissions process.

Professor Arcidiacono's statistical analysis shows that UNC's admissions process is highly formulaic. As Professor

Arcidiacono explained, his preferred model is highly accurate. It accurately predicts admissions decisions over 92 percent of the time for in-state applicants. Similarly, his preferred model is highly accurate with respect to out-of-state applicants. There it accurately predicts admissions decisions more than 93 percent of the time.

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Professor Arcidiacono helped illustrate how formulaic UNC's admissions decisions are through his graphical representations. This slide, for example, shows that his model easily divides nearly all in-state applicants into near-certain rejects. That's on the left side of the picture where the graph spikes near the 0 percent chance of admission and divides on the other side applicants into near-certain admits. That's on the right side of the graph where it spikes near 100 percent admission.

Further, he showed that the accuracy — the accuracy of that same model. His modeling not only divides the in-state applicants into near-certain rejects and near-certain admits, but it does so with extraordinary accuracy. Professor Arcidiacono testified that his models have incredibly high accuracy, much higher than what is normally seen in his field, and that led him to opine that UNC's process is highly formulaic and guided by an implicit formula.

You're likely to hear UNC claim that its process cannot be reduced to an implicit formula and that its process is neither mechanical nor formulaic. UNC, in fact, claims that it

conducts individualized assessments of over 40,000 applicants each cycle. But the nonstatistical evidence in this case shows that this process is highly mechanical, and it confirms

Professor Arcidiacono's conclusion that the process is highly formulaic.

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Jared Rosenberg, UNC's associate director of undergraduate admissions, supervises the day-to-day work of the admissions office. He testified that UNC readers complete review of five applications an hour, or one every 12 minutes. Again, the record shows that these applications average over 30 pages in length. In fact, the evidence shows that readers need only 10 minutes to review one of these 30-plus-page applications.

Mr. Rosenberg further testified that it was his job to keep the trains running on time, to keep the machine running smoothly, and he made clear that he manages UNC's readers to ensure that they would read the same files in the same way and score them in the same manner. He emphasized that each reader's decisions are calibrated to fit the admissions office's priorities.

As Mr. Rosenberg's testimony before this Court shows, this calibration process ensures that 99 percent of the time a second reader does not need to change the first reader's decision. And other evidence shows that readers know that they're being calibrated, and they seek confirmation that they are getting the right answers when they review application

files.

It should not be surprising, then, that UNC boils down applicants to a few key measures in race and ethnicity. There are numerous examples in the record of UNC readers being keenly focused on race and ethnicity when reviewing application files. Not surprisingly then, the nonstatistical evidence illustrates how race dominates the process. UNC's reading document — UNC's reading document makes clear that race, ethnicity, or national origin may be used at any stage of the process.

The record evidence shows that race, in fact, pervades the entire process, starting with recruiting. Race is a point of focus in recruiting. UNC purchases data from the College Bound that is tiered by race. These tiers show very large disparities between what UNC views as admissible applicants as between URM and non-URM applicants.

Furthermore, race pervades the process in terms of the application review. Readers focus on race throughout the file reading, repeatedly highlighting the race of applicants as they push through files. For example, a reader here states that she is going through this trouble of finding a way to admit an applicant who happens to be a biracial male.

Race further pervades the process in other ways. Before
UNC stopped the weekly circulation of core reports, the
admissions office used them to apprise admission office leaders
of a few key demographic benchmarks, among them race. Race was

prominently reported on core reports, showing whether or not UNC was ahead of the previous year's racial and ethnic numbers.

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And although SFFA is not pressing a specific claim as to the SGR process, UNC was keenly focused on race there as well. The second readers regularly referenced race in making SGR decisions.

All of this nonstatistical evidence demonstrates that race pervades UNC's admissions process. UNC was certainly aware of its keen focus on race, but did they ever do anything to inquire or investigate the effect race was having on their process? Here's what they had to say. Stephen Farmer testified on multiple occasions he directed Jennifer Kretchmar to investigate whether and how other factors might have been affecting UNC's admissions process. He specifically asked her to develop formulas to model the probability of admission to determine whether UNC was affording in-state applicants legacy preferences and to determine the effect gender has on the admissions process.

But despite having ample reason to question the effect race has in UNC's admissions process, Mr. Farmer never asked Dr. Kretchmar to employ a similar analysis to determine the extent to which race affects UNC's admissions decisions and admissions process, not once in his nearly two decades.

Professor Arcidiacono took on the question UNC never bothered to ask and modeled UNC's admissions process to

determine the effect race has in the process. His statistical analysis demonstrates that race is, in fact, a dominant factor in admissions. Professor Arcidiacono conducted four separate and distinct analyses to quantify the effect of race in UNC's admissions decisions. Each shows the same thing: Race is a dominant factor. It is determinative for many URM applicants.

First, Professor Arcidiacono conducted a transformational analysis where he turned off the effect of racial preferences in his model and showed how it would affect the probability of admission for in-state URM applicants, and that analysis showed that race has a massive effect on URM admissions. For example, as this slide shows, a white male, non-FGC applicant with a 25 percent chance of admission, if treated as an African American applicant, would have more than a 92 percent chance of admission. Professor Arcidiacono did the same analysis out of state, and the results there were even more striking. For a white male, non-FGC applicant with a 25 percent chance of admission, if he were treated as an African American applicant, he would have more than a 99 percent chance of admission.

And you may hear UNC claim that this analysis is skewed because it focuses on nonrepresentative applicants, but an applicant with a 25 percent chance of admission actually reflects the overall chance of admission to UNC, which is undisputably a little over 25 percent.

You may also hear UNC claim that Professor Arcidiacono

focuses improperly on deciles that are on the bubble, so to speak. But the deciles on the bubble are the ones most likely to be the place where racial preferences will matter, and the data show that those deciles are the ones where most URM applicants are actually admitted.

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Professor Arcidiacono also conducted an average marginal effect analysis. It involves removing the effect of racial preferences and observing the changes in the probability of admission across all applicants and then averaging that change in probability across all applicants of each racial group. For in-state African American applicants, their average probability of admission drops from 30.5 percent to 17.8 percent without racial preferences, and for out of state, it drops from 17.1 percent with racial preferences to only 1.5 percent without racial preferences.

This type of analysis that Professor Arcidiacono employed is supported in the academic literature. Indeed, Professor Arcidiacono was invited to author a survey paper in the Annual Review of Economics, a journal for which Dr. Caroline Hoxby was an editor at the time. Professor Arcidiacono's survey covered over 70 academic papers involving economic analysis of affirmative action in higher education, and it employed average marginal effect analysis.

This analysis is further supported by competing expert work in related litigation. Harvard retained Professor David Card,

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a John Bates Clark Medal award winner for his work in economics, and Professor Card employed average marginal effect analysis in defending Harvard, and that average marginal effect analysis was discussed extensively in the decision in that case. Dr. Hoxby, on the other hand, calculated the median instead of the average marginal effect, but she could not support any — she could not cite any support for her novel median marginal effect analysis anywhere in the academic literature.

Professor Hoxby's critique of Professor Arcidiacono's average marginal effect analysis inadvertently shows massive effect on race — or massive effect of race on admissions decisions. For example, she showed that turning off racial preferences has a larger effect on the admission for African American applicants than switching their GPAs to straight Bs.

Next, Professor Arcidiacono showed the effect of racial preferences on URM applicants who were actually admitted to UNC. This analysis similarly showed the massive effects of UNC's racial preferences. For example, out-of-state URM applicants who were actually admitted to UNC would become very likely rejections if racial preferences were turned off. Importantly, Dr. Hoxby never mentioned this analysis in her testimony, not once.

Professor Arcidiacono also conducted an analysis involving capacity constraints whereby he could see the effect of race on

the entire class as a whole, and that analysis showed over six years that turning off the effect of racial preferences at UNC 2 3 would change thousands of admissions decisions over that time. 4 Dr. Hoxby says little, if anything, about Professor 5 Arcidiacono's capacity constraints analysis. Undoubtedly, this is for two reasons. Number one, Dr. Hoxby employed no capacity 6 7 constraint analysis of her own, and number two, Professor Arcidiacono's capacity constraints analysis is designed to and, 8 9 in fact, perfectly matches the number of admits each year that 10 UNC actually has. Dr. Hoxby did her own posit analysis, and that analysis 11 does nothing to undermine Professor Arcidiacono's conclusions 12 here. Dr. Hoxby's analysis focuses almost entirely on her 13 Shapley decomposition analysis of the pseudo R-squared metric 14 15 for her models. This slide here that she focused on quite a bit in her testimony is based off of her opening report 16 17 Exhibit 1, Table 1. The problem with Dr. Hoxby's analysis is that it is 18 unsupported by academic literature in the field. Dr. Hoxby's 19 20 position is that the pseudo R-squared represents the percent of 21 the admissions decision explained by the model, but textbook

First, Professor McFadden himself. The pseudo R-squared that Dr. Hoxby employs is McFadden's pseudo R-squared, and Professor McFadden himself explains that his pseudo R-squared

economic -- textbook econometrics demonstrates this is wrong.

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gives values that tend to be considerably lower than those of the R-squared.

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Professor Train in his textbook explains that the pseudo R-squared is not at all similar to the R-squared used in regression. In fact, he says it has no intuitively interpretable meaning.

Professor William Greene says, similarly, pseudo R-squared has no connection to the fit of the model to the data. He even gives an example with a pseudo R-squared of .083 that predicts accurately more than 71 percent of the time. Yet Dr. Hoxby persists in saying that a pseudo R-squared of .248 predicts only 42.8 percent of the admissions decisions. Just as Professor Greene explained, Professor Arcidiacono showed that Dr. Hoxby's model is very accurate.

Not only is Dr. Hoxby's use of the pseudo R-squared unsupported in the academic literature, but her Shapley decomposition analysis is unsupported in the field. She could identify no academic paper in which an economist used it in the same manner she did here. And she conceded that the Shapley decomposition analysis she employed would show a much smaller effect if focused only on the affected racial group.

Dr. Hoxby purported to show that removing racial preferences would only have a small effect on admissions decisions because it would reduce Professor Arcidiacono's model accuracy by only a small margin. But the data underneath

Dr. Hoxby's analysis shows the opposite. What it shows, in fact -- I'm sorry. My eyes are not good enough to be able to read those numbers closely. I'm going to flip to the slide.

Thank you.

In fact, those numbers showed that removing race causes the accuracy of the model's ability to predict admission for African American applicants in state to drop from over 86 percent to down around 65 or 66 percent, and out of state it drops the accuracy of the model's ability to predict admission for African American applicants from nearly 75 percent to less than 18 percent.

Now, there was some discussion about overfitting here during the trial. Professor Arcidiacono used a textbook graph illustrating the concept of overfit, and that concept is about out-of-sample error, in particular, minimizing out-of-sample error. Professor Hoxby's overfit methodology, on the other hand, was flawed in several respects. Those errors in her methodology caused overstatements of overfitting or it causes it to report overfitting where there actually is none.

Indeed, as Professor Arcidiacono demonstrated, Dr. Hoxby's shifting metrics for overfit actually defeat themselves by suggesting that her least accurate models are actually the most accurate.

In the end, when resolving competing expert analysis in this case, it is worth emphasis that Professor Arcidiacono's

analysis is supported by numerous econometrics textbooks and peer-reviewed academic work; among those, Professor Train's 2 3 textbook, Professor Greene's textbook --4 MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor -- I'm sorry -- I hate to object during a closing, but these text are not in evidence. 5 They were shown to the witness, but they've never been offered 6 7 as exhibits. So I object to repeated references to exhibits not in evidence. 8 9 MR. MCCARTHY: They were cited by Dr. Hoxby in her 10 report and Professor Arcidiacono in his report. The one, in 11 fact, on the screen was cited by Dr. Hoxby in her report, as she acknowledged at trial, and she was familiar with the others 12 because they were cited by Professor Arcidiacono at trial, and 13 actually, she quoted some of the language --14 15 But whether or not they support your THE COURT: expert's opinion is not really before the Court. 16 17 MR. MCCARTHY: I'm sorry? THE COURT: Whether or not they support the opinion of 18 your expert is not before the Court, and you're telling me that 19 20 it is, correct? 21 MR. MCCARTHY: Your Honor, I'm not telling you that 22 specific issue is before the Court. All I'm saying is that 23 these were the text that were cited by the experts in their competing analysis, so it's relevant to how they conducted --24 25 THE COURT: All right. I can hear that they may have

been cited by someone in their analysis, which is different 2 from them supporting the expert's opinion. 3 MR. MCCARTHY: Okay, Your Honor. Understood. 4 THE COURT: All right. So limit it to that, please. 5 MR. MCCARTHY: Understood. We can move on. 6 Dr. Hoxby, on the other hand, repeatedly failed to identify 7 any academic work supporting her novel analysis: Not her 8 Shapley decomposition analysis, not her novel McFadden pseudo 9 R-squared analysis, and not her novel median marginal effect 10 analysis. 11 MR. STRAWBRIDGE: So, your Honor, that brings us to the third and final aspect of the questions for trial and the 12 1.3 evidence that was presented here. It has to do with the evidence that goes to whether or not there are workable 14 15 race-neutral alternatives available to the University of North Carolina in its admissions process. And relevant 16 17 language from Fisher is here on the screen: "The reviewing 18 court must ultimately be satisfied that no workable race-neutral alternatives would produce the educational 19 20 benefits of diversity. If 'a nonracial approach...could 21 promote the substantial interest about as well and at tolerable 2.2. administrative expense, ' then the university may not consider race." 23

Before we get to what the evidence in this case showed

about the availability of workable race-neutral alternatives,

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it bears a brief review of the record of UNC's consideration of race-neutral alternatives since 2003, in the 17 years since the Supreme Court first laid down this approach in *Grutter*.

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The only evidence that we have with respect to UNC's first attempt to analyze an actual race-neutral alternative is this spreadsheet that Mr. Farmer apparently used at his desk, but as you heard his testimony at trial, he's able to tell us very little about that. He could not replicate that study today. He -- with respect to the completion of that study, he didn't recall discussing it with anybody in the admissions office specifically, sharing it with the faculty undergraduate commission, nor was it boiled down to a written report or a written analysis. So I think right there that falls well short of the -- of the serious and good-faith consideration of race-neutral alternatives that are required.

There was a literature review a couple of years later that was simply just a survey of what was happening in other schools. It was actually not an attempt to analyze what would happen at the University of North Carolina, so that can't constitute a serious, good-faith consideration.

Then we have the analysis that was done for the amicus brief, and I would submit that an analysis that was done after the university had already decided to submit an amicus brief in the pending *Fisher* litigation is not the kind of serious, good-faith consideration that the Supreme Court had in mind.

The timeline with respect to the submission of the amicus brief demonstrates that it was done as part of that effort. I think Mr. Farmer said he asked it be prepared in conjunction with conversations he was having with people at UNC's law school who were authoring that amicus brief. By their own admission — by Dr. Kretchmar's own admission here in this particular document that's on the screen, it was an unsophisticated analysis.

The next time that there was an effort to actually analyze

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The next time that there was an effort to actually analyze race-neutral alternatives came several years later and long after the deadline that OCR had requested for a full review of the university policies that passed. In the fall of 2014, there was a request -- or there was a working group assembled.

And the flaws of this are substantial, and I will not recount all the evidence at trial. I will just note that at the outset the charge that was given to the members of that working group was to determine whether each alternative would yield an entering class with equal or greater diversity, academic quality, and extracurricular achievement and potential. We know that's inconsistent with the Supreme Court's standard which only requires that it work about as well. We cannot set a floor of our existing levels of any of those criteria or else it essentially becomes a de facto quota. That was the charge that they were given, and that was the very specific standard upon which the various alternatives — that this report eventually discussed or analyzed.

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Moreover, as we know, as part of preparing that report, this working group never identified just how much of an effect race was having in their admissions process today, nor did they generate any kind of definition of critical mass or some sort of goal for what they actually sought to achieve through the ruse of race, which is a necessary step to analyzing whether a race-neutral alternative would achieve that goal about as well. What was the substance of this report? Well, Dr. Kretchmar eventually prepared a draft October 31, 2014. She sent this draft around to Barbara Polk and, in her own description, "I know most of this won't likely make the cut for the final draft, but I felt like I needed to at least make an attempt. So it's a start, at least." Now, that document that she sent to Barbara Polk was not the start of this working group's It was the end of the working group's report. No substantive changes were made to that report for nearly two years, at which point the undergraduate admissions committee accepted to -- I'm sorry. The Advisory Committee on Undergraduate Admissions accepted that report basically in full, without making any substantive changes whatsoever. That is conceded in interrogatory responses that are in evidence in this case. And notwithstanding the fact that it was a first effort and a draft that Dr. Kretchmar herself did not think would make the final cut, the Advisory Committee on Undergraduate Admissions characterized it as the best efforts

of the first group charged specifically with exploring race-neutral alternatives.

At that point, of course, the Committee on Race-Neutral Alternatives chaired by Dr. Panter was established. That committee, having been established in 2016, has produced some preliminary reports. It has apparently conducted some preliminary analysis, still has yet to provide any definition of critical mass. There is no actual findings of that committee with respect to the availability of race-neutral alternatives or any analysis as to what a race-neutral alternative would be deemed successful. None of that is before the Court. It's a — that process is just getting off the ground, despite having been underway for a number of years at this point. I think that that — that underscores the lack of a serious attempt to search for a race-neutral alternative.

Now, we did hear evidence in this case that there are workable race-neutral alternatives available to UNC, and the primary evidence presented by the Plaintiff was the simulations prepared by Mr. Kahlenberg, who has dedicated his career to writing about issues of race and class in schools, including colleges, and studying the field of race-neutral alternatives. He presented this Court with a number of simulations. We're going to go through them quickly, but I think Your Honor is familiar with the basic idea of these simulations.

The most important note, I think, at the outset here is the

variety of different simulations that were run. There were simulations that were run that assumed, essentially, that UNC kept its current admissions process, including its holistic consideration, its ratings, its analysis of the candidates as they do now, simply assuming that they got rid of any racial preferences, as well as some other preferences they have for legacy students and the such.

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And we have three different examples of those. We also have a percentage plan race-neutral alternative that was presented. We have a hybrid plan that includes parts of a percentage plan and parts of a holistic race-neutral alternative, and we even have a plan that is based on Ms. Hoxby's methodology. And I think as we go through this, what I want Your Honor to understand or at least what I would like to emphasize is the fact that these simulations cover the gamut. Some of them include out-of-state students; some of them are focused on in-state students; some of them include the existing applicant pool, assuming nobody else applies to UNC; some of them include a much broader applicant pool, assuming that most of the in-state students, if not all in-state students, in North Carolina apply to UNC. It even uses Professor Hoxby's methodology, which was to assume that 75 percent of the students in North Carolina would apply to UNC.

So Mr. Kahlenberg's simulations have covered the waterfront

of different approaches. I mean, I don't think they could be fairly criticized on the ground that they focus only on one particular set of assumptions or another.

What were those simulations? Your Honor remembers them. I will not belabor the point. Simulation 3 is the first one that was presented. This one includes in-state and out-of-state applicants. It -- as you can see, the results here do very well with respect to the existing levels of racial diversity, assuming that is UNC's unstated goal. They actually increase socioeconomic diversity, which UNC at least claims is just as big of a priority with respect to the educational benefits of diversity as racial diversity, and they do very well with respect to the academic characteristics. We're within one percentile of the average SAT score, and we're very close to the high school GPA.

And as we go through all these simulations, it's worth remembering the second point that Mr. Kahlenberg made, which is that when you are increasing the number of students who have come from challenging socioeconomic circumstances, whether that's a disadvantaged family situation, a disadvantaged school or a disadvantaged neighborhood, the academic credentials of those students have to be viewed in context, and, indeed, it is more impressive that those students are able to obtain the same types of academic achievements, and in particular their GPA, than a student who goes — or lives in a more advantaged area.

And so viewed in that context, the academic characteristics of the classes in this simulation are very favorable.

The next simulation that was presented here, this is Simulation 11. This is providing a socioeconomic status benefit or additional preference for socioeconomic status, and you can see in this case you have a large uptick, not only in the diversity among the underrepresented groups but in socioeconomic diversity. And, again, the academic credentials are very good.

We have the next simulation, which is Simulation 8. This is a version of a top 4.5 percent plan. It draws upon mainly the existing applicant pool. Again, you can see that the underrepresented groups are represented just as well in this simulation as they are under the status quo, socioeconomic diversity increases, the academic characteristics remain highly competitive.

The same is true with respect to this simulation. This was a hybrid. You had top 4 percent based on a class rank race-neutral admissions policy. Again, general increase at least with respect to disadvantaged schools; at least a maintenance, if not a different improvement — this is the slide that does not include Native Americans broken down, which is why the underrepresented minorities report is a little bit smaller than it is in the others, but it certainly works about as well. And, again, the academic credentials remaining very,

very competitive.

And then we have the example that was taken from Dr. Hoxby. We are using here her own methodology of finding applicants and setting aside seats. There can be no concern here that somehow Mr. Kahlenberg's assumptions were different than Professor Hoxby's, and still we're yielding an improvement in socioeconomic diversity; an actual improvement, I think, in the GPA; competitive test scores and very good representation across all the racial groups.

So all these simulations demonstrate that UNC can achieve diversity, not only with respect to its existing levels of racial diversity, but also socioeconomic diversity, greater diversity.

I want to talk a little bit about some of the criticisms that we heard about Mr. Kahlenberg's simulations. Dr. Hoxby's standard, to begin with, I think was far too exacting for what the Supreme Court requires in this process. As we talked about at the beginning, the standard under the Supreme Court is that the race-neutral simulation needs to work about as well. It needs to be a workable solution. It does not necessarily need to hit particular numbers. Dr. Hoxby's analysis — and she testified about this — was framed only in terms of whether the replications could hit UNC's current actuals. And by "actuals," she meant not only the average test score, but she meant the precise numbers of students in each URM category. If

it did not reach that, she considered it an unsuccessful simulation.

Even setting that aside, she acknowledged that at least it was theoretically possible that a race-neutral simulation might be available, although she did not run a simulation that went this far. But she acknowledged that it was theoretically possible and you could even meet her unnecessarily exacting standard for precisely replicating the level of racial diversity in test scores in the class.

She also -- I think her -- you remember the testimony that I think kind of underscores the fundamental incoherence of both her opinions. She attempts to assert that race is playing a very, very small effect in the admissions process; it is not, you know, a major driver or a predominant fact in whether someone gets in or not, and yet it is also very, very difficult to model a race-neutral alternative.

And I think the only way to reconcile those two pieces of testimony -- race is not having a big effect, but also there is no race-neutral way to achieve anything close to what UNC is doing -- the only way to reconcile that process is if you hold to this kind of artificially specific standard that she applied: That you actually have to replicate the very precise numbers, the very precise test scores of the admit class; and even if you're just off by a few students here or there, that's an insufficient solution. I think that underscores why that

standard is the only way in which she can find there are no workable race-neutral alternatives and reconcile with her prior opinion.

As for Professor Long, I don't think her opinions have provided much help to UNC in this case. She certainly offers her own observations on various studies that were made in this area, but, as you may recall, she is not here to offer any opinion on what UNC could actually implement. She doesn't offer any opinion on what are the necessary thresholds for critical mass for UNC.

She certainly disputed how generally available richer socioeconomic data may be for students -- or for colleges who wanted to prioritize SES status, for example.

But she couldn't dispute at least one study that

Mr. Kahlenberg testified about where UCLA law school had

actually been able to find and deploy richer socioeconomic

criteria about wealth. She couldn't dispute that that

information is available on the FAFSA form and the CSS. There

is a question about how many people completed it, but she could

not testify as to whether UNC had access to that information,

how many people were completing that information who were

applying to UNC. And I think the evidence at trial indicates

that, just as UNC asks its applicants for specific essay

answers, just as it asks its applicants to complete their

own — the CSS Profile, UNC is certainly capable of acquiring

richer socioeconomic data if it wants to.

In any event, that's kind of beside the point because none of the simulations we just looked at, none of the simulations that Mr. Kahlenberg testified about actually relied on greater wealth data being available. That was all based on information that was either available through the UNC applicant data that was produced in this case or through the high school data, which is presumably easy enough for UNC to obtain since it obtained it for purposes of running their analysis here. Professor Long's other -- and, of course, Professor Long did not offer any opinion on simulations one way or the other.

Professor Long's other opinion was to contend that more selective schools — and she put UNC in the same bucket — have a hard time replicating the precise levels of racial diversity through race—neutral alternatives. She set to minimize all the successful efforts on this front in the studies from the University of Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Texas, and Washington. She preferred to focus on the California schools and Michigan. Of course, that meant that she had to at least dismiss in some ways the recent success of the California schools, which the testimony at trial indicated — everybody agrees it has made strides at least in recent years of replicating or at least getting closer to the levels of racial diversity that they had before.

But more importantly is that this testimony and this

attempt to kind of wall off the studies from less competitive universities and put UNC in a different category isn't based on UNC's own efforts, because Professor Long did not review any of the deposition testimony or the records of UNC. At no point in the 17 years after *Grutter* is there evidence that UNC had conducted the kind of analysis she did and somehow concluded that they are more like Michigan and California and they're less like Arizona and Washington.

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In fact, as you may recall, Professor Long's focus here was really on an article by Mr. Kahlenberg and Potter that was the subject of an e-mail from a former Department of Education official to UNC to include in the working group report -- to update their report to address these kinds of articles and the articles that appeared in the precise book; and, of course, we know that suggestion was rejected. It never made it into the discussion that UNC had done.

More importantly, we have evidence in the record that UNC has used benchmarks and looked to other universities as comparable universities, specifically when discussing racial diversity, and that's what's shown on the screen here. This is PX59. It's admitted in the record.

This is an e-mail that Steve Farmer sent to Jim Dean identifying a number of universities who are either designated as peer universities by the UNC system itself, that are top 30 national universities or that are other AAU universities. In

other words, Steve Farmer went out and prepared a list of universities that they considered their peer universities for purposes of comparing how they're doing on racial diversity. And when one looks at those universities, what's striking about this is that you're going to see a lot of schools that we just talked about that have implemented race-neutral alternatives 7 that have done so successfully.

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On the first set here, this is the peer university, the University of Texas appears on that list right next to UNC-Chapel Hill. On the AAU list, if you look, there's a number of universities: Florida, which has successfully implemented race-neutral alternatives; Arizona, which has successfully implemented race-neutral alternatives. There is Texas again, which did so for a number of years. There is -the University of Colorado is on this list, which at least briefly was under a race-neutral regime; Texas A & M, which has successfully implemented race-neutral alternatives; the University of Washington, again, another university that has successfully implemented race-neutral alternatives.

The evidence in this case, I think, leads to the necessary conclusion that UNC rejects these approaches because they don't want to succeed in finding a race-neutral alternative. Although UNC's officials may believe that their indefinite commitment to the use of race comes from a benevolent place, that they can and should be trusted to use race in a

responsible manner to achieve goals that they consider to be laudable, there's a reason that the United States Constitution 2 3 renders any use of race as a highly suspect tool. Racial 4 classifications have always been classified as being in the 5 best interest of those against whom they are deployed. And as one Justice has aptly noted: The Constitution 6 7 abhors classifications based on race, not only because those classifications can harm favored races or based on illegitimate 8 9 motives, but also because every time the government places 10 citizens on racial registers and makes race relevant to the provision of burdens or benefits, it demeans us all. 11 12 The evidence makes clear that UNC does not take the requirements of the whole protection seriously and that it will 13 not forfeit its use of race voluntarily. It falls to the Court 14 15 to step in and enforce the law in this area. We respectfully 16 request that it do so. 17 We thank the Court for its time and attention to this matter, and we request that it order the University of North 18 19 Carolina to cease its use of racial classifications in its 20 admissions process. 21 Thank you, Your Honor. 2.2. THE COURT: Thank you. 23 Do you anticipate about an hour and a half for yours? 24 MS. BRENNAN: We do, Your Honor. 25 THE COURT: All right. Why don't we take our

afternoon recess, and then we will resume -- why don't we get 2 back here at a quarter of so we can get started. 3 MR. FITZGERALD: Thank you, Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: Yes. 5 (An afternoon recess was taken from 2:35 p.m. until 6 2:45 p.m.; all parties present.) 7 THE COURT: UNC. 8 MS. BRENNAN: Thank you, Your Honor. 9 And may it please the Court. I, too, would like to begin 10 by thanking the Court and its staff on behalf of the university 11 and our trial team. The university very much appreciates the opportunity to defend this important case under the 12 1.3 circumstances with a live trial to the greatest extent possible. 14 15 In our opening argument, we told you that what's going on at UNC is people striving earnestly to create the best possible 16 17 environment with the best possible students using human judgment. They're doing the right thing for the right reason 18 in the right way, and the testimony has established this. 19 20 I will be addressing first the university's compelling 21 interests; second, how the university's holistic admissions is 22 narrowly tailored to achieve the university's goals; and, third 23 the university's good-faith consideration of race-neutral 24 alternatives. Mr. Fitzgerald will be addressing the expert testimony, including why the expert testimony does not change

the facts in this case.

And I'll start with the burden in this case, which Your Honor is very familiar with, and just simply state that there's two burdens, one related to compelling interest and second related to narrow tailoring. We have met both of the burdens in this case.

And I'll note before beginning that we will highlight some testimony and evidence in our closing, but we will provide more detail and specific citations in our posttrial submissions.

First, turning to the compelling interest, the university has a compelling interest in diversity; and if you look at the legal standard here, the Supreme Court has recognized that attaining the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body is a compelling, constitutionally permissible goal; and the decision to pursue those benefits is something that the Supreme Court said "is, in substantial measure, an academic judgment to which some, but not complete, deference is" owed. Thus, a university's reasoned, principled explanation for its decision to pursue the educational benefits of diversity deserves considerable judicial deference.

The university's compelling interest has been conceded in this case, but it has also been established. There are four established facts related to this interest. First, UNC has exercised its academic judgment; second, UNC is deeply committed to achieving the educational benefits of diversity;

third, the holistic approach is the permissible means that the university has adopted to achieve these benefits; and, fourth, UNC has carefully assessed the achievement of these benefits and reasonably determined that there is more work to do.

Turning to the first fact, that the university has exercised its academic judgment, UNC, in its academic judgment, has decided that racial diversity yields specific and compelling educational benefits that are very important to provide to its student body. What is the university's reasoned, principled explanation? It is the long-time recognition that diversity is a critical component of excellence. The benefits are not theoretical, but they are real. They occur both inside and outside the classroom, and the university very much wants these benefits for its student and faculty, and the students want them too. UNC bases this judgment and its considerable expertise in its special understanding of context, and the pursuit of these benefits has been well documented over time.

On this next slide we've shown some of the places where you can see the documentation of the pursuit of these benefits:

The mission, the academic plans, the faculty resolution and the provost report, which actually articulates the five specific areas that the university pursues benefits in and shows that those are the same benefits that align with what the Supreme Court has said is permissible. The faculty in its resolution

UNC. So this is at the very heart of UNC's academic judgment.

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And as the Supreme Court has made clear, UNC's judgment is entitled to First Amendment deference. While the university also pursues socioeconomic diversity, that should not be confused with its interest in racial diversity. Racial diversity has unique benefits that are extremely important, and Mr. Farmer testified about that. He talked about the fact that it's important that students have the experience of living and learning alongside other students of other races and ethnicities, because that's the world that they will join; and then he talked about how the conversations they will have will be richer, the discoveries they make will be better, the discussion — decisions that they make will be better informed as a result of their experiences with students of other races and ethnicities.

And SFFA's own expert does not dispute that racial diversity relates to educational benefits and simply says socioeconomic diversity does as well. But racial and socioeconomic diversity are both important, but not the same.

This would be enough to establish the university's compelling interest. In addition, however, each of the five types of benefits are set forth in the provost's report and then further supported and illustrated throughout the record. And we've provided you with a slide. I know that this trial

was very streamlined, but there's a great deal of testimony that's in the record through declarations, and we have provided in this slide an example of each of the types of educational benefits and the ways that they play out in the real world at UNC and they affect people's lives.

So, for example, diversity being necessary for a robust and fully inclusive conversation about the history of the South; students learning from diverse classmates who had been involved with traffic stops and how that provides a powerful and impactful learning moment; diversity providing fertile ground for innovation in a research lab; UNC making a student confident in her ability to work with, coach, and teach others who do not look like her and have not had the same experiences; and then two students, a black male from a wealthy suburb and a white male from rural North Carolina, becoming study partners and learning a real lesson about implicit assumptions. These declarations further illustrate these benefits are real, and they matter to people at UNC.

Instead of disputing this, SFFA claims that a ruling in its favor will require no sacrifice of racial diversity. But SFFA's contention is false. Even setting aside Count III, as we have done for purposes of this trial, SFFA wants to force the university to adopt an alternative that, as Mr. Fitzgerald will discuss later, will not work about as well at UNC. So this is all very much on the line.

I'll highlight one witness declaration that makes the choice at hand very clear, and that's the declaration of Richard Vinroot. He is a white male. He was the former mayor of Charlotte and a former Republican nominee for governor of North Carolina. He attended UNC on a Morehead Scholarship, played basketball for Coach Smith, and graduated in 1963. He only had three or four African American classmates in his entire class. He was fortunate to have dinner with Martin Luther King, Jr., as a student at UNC and that got him thinking more about diversity. Vinroot's three children later attended UNC-Chapel Hill. Their experiences included hearing, seeing, and living with diverse individuals.

And Mr. Vinroot provides the following testimony: "Many of my peers have overcome the lack of diversity, as I hope I have, but some reflect the lack of diversity and sensitivity. I do not know of anyone in my kids' generation who does not have a broader and better view of the world in which they live than people in my generation simply because of their broader experiences. Without diversity, UNC would create warped graduates who are technically sound but lack the humanity we brag about at UNC. We are a university of the people and for the people. We would not be true to our mission without diversity of all kinds, in my opinion. I've always felt better about UNC as a place that believes in the value of diversity."

When Mr. Vinroot looks at his yearbooks, he sees a lot of

people that look like him. When his children and the students today look at theirs, they see a very different picture. What will UNC look like tomorrow? This case will impact who each of the 4,000 students who arrive in Chapel Hill each August see next to them. Will UNC be able to provide them with the full experience that UNC, in its academic judgment, believes that they should have?

The second fact is that UNC is deeply committed to achieving the educational benefits of diversity. I only address this briefly because SFFA has not made a serious challenge to the university's commitment and sincerity. UNC has never said that it is perfect in all respects, and our witnesses were very clear there's a lot more work to be done. On the other hand, the evidence is substantial that the university has made deliberate and sustained efforts to pursue the educational benefits of diversity, and the next slide shows some of those programmatic efforts or where there is evidence about them and that can be found.

The provost report provides a detailed discussion of what's the -- some of the university's efforts are. We've also submitted the report of Mitchell Chang.

And I want to just say a word about Dr. Chang because he was not one of the live witnesses in this case, but he has 30 years of experience studying issues of racial diversity in higher education. He's at UCLA. And he assessed the

university's programming and — including things like affinity groups, housing initiatives, campus discussion forums, mentoring programs, and the like; and he observed that UNC systematically and effectively engages diversity in an attempt to intentionally create the conditions for the achievement of the educational benefits of diversity.

You also heard in this case from Dr. Panter about many efforts that are being done in the academic space in order to ensure that students can collaborate with each other and learn in that way.

And then we have listed here three declarations from witnesses who will testify through their declaration as to some of the efforts that are being made at UNC outside of the classroom. And that's the Blattner, King, and Crisp declarations.

The third fact: The holistic approach is the permissible means that UNC has adopted to achieve the educational benefits of diversity, and the next slide is from the Faculty Advisory Committee guidance, which you saw during the testimony, and it sets forth a holistic admissions system. Specifically, if you look at the bottom paragraph, it states: "In shaping the class, we evaluate individual candidates rigorously, holistically, and sympathetically." So this is echoed also in the reading document, and the evidence is very clear that the system is holistic. That was also conceded by Plaintiff's

expert, Professor Arcidiacono.

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And UNC witnesses explained what holistic review means in practice. The next slide is from the testimony of Mr. Farmer where he talked about holistic review, and he starts by saying that "holistic review means that we try to make sense of whole people. We try to make sense of candidates as human beings." He goes on to say, "Holistic admission really means that we focus on the best in young people, that we try to see the best in them, that we try to make sense of them, where they come — if — what they care about, what they're good at, what they've struggled at, what they can get better at, what difference they'll make in the lives of the people around them and in the lives of other people who are going to depend on them forever."

Mr. Rosenberg also testified about what holistic review means and how they train their readers. He stated that "We want to train readers to meet our applicants where they are and understand that they all come from different walks of life and that context is extremely important to consider as you make the decision."

We'll talk more about the admissions process in a moment and the consideration of race, but there's no dispute that this is a holistic process. And race is one factor, among many other factors, in who people are, and where they choose to provide it, it should not be erased in trying to understand them as individuals.

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The fourth fact is that UNC has carefully assessed the achievement of the educational benefits of diversity and reasonably determined that more work is needed. The testimony shows that UNC has paid careful attention to its achievement of the educational benefits of diversity. You heard testimony from Steve Farmer that he has continuously been in discussions with leadership on the campus and each year sharing the admitted class profile. He's talking to students and others on campus, and he's getting their feedback. He's paying attention to the numbers, along with the qualitative feedback.

You also heard testimony from Dr. Farmer -- I'm sorry -- from Dr. Panter. UNC has done numerous surveys and assessments over time to obtain information from students relevant to the educational benefits of diversity, and Dr. Panter testified in detail about those efforts. That includes the HERI climate survey. It includes specific questions from course evaluations, which we saw some examples of, and much more information. And Dr. Panter talked about how they review that information and they apply it. They use that information to actually improve their teaching and their delivery of the educational benefits of diversity.

We also heard testimony about a substantial effort to formalize and centralize the assessment in 2017 following guidance from $Fisher\ II$ with the formation of the Educational Benefits of Diversity Working Group, and that work is

summarized in DX5. We heard about how that group collected prior assessments, so they made sure that they centralized and knew what assessments were occurring, including national and local surveys. They reviewed key data on this topic, and they developed a state-of-the-art assessment plan that will assess students' experiences starting when they arrive at UNC, or even 7 prior, and going through their alumni status. Their goal is to be a national leader in this area.

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Now I want to talk for a minute about Plaintiff's focus, which has been critical mass. SFFA claims that the only permissible goal is to enroll a critical mass of underrepresented minority students. SFFA then claims that the university fails strict scrutiny because it hasn't sufficiently defined its critical mass pools and they are not measurable. SFFA attempts to use critical mass as a trap. On the one hand, SFFA attempted to obtain a numerical goal from many of UNC's witnesses. They even showed in their closing and you heard in testimony the question that they asked Dr. Panter at her deposition about whether certain levels of racial diversity would be sufficient. That, of course, would be an impermissible quota, and UNC doesn't have quotas and so they were not able to provide a specific number.

SFFA then switched tactics to suggest that because there's no specific numbers, UNC's definition of critical mass was too amorphous, and, therefore, UNC failed strict scrutiny. But the Supreme Court has explained that the permissible compelling interest is not a specific number. It is in the educational benefits of diversity, and as discussed, the pursuit of those educational benefits sets a clear goal, and the university's work is tied to that goal, and the goal is assessed.

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Notably, however, UNC does pursue critical mass as a component of achieving the educational benefits of diversity. Plaintiffs in their closing showed the reading document where it states that critical mass is an aim of the university, and that was confirmed by witnesses, including Mr. Farmer.

Now, SFFA says that UNC's witnesses couldn't define it, but that is not the case. UNC's witnesses have consistently said that there's a numerical component, but it's also contextual. And I'll note, you know, that defining it can be tricky because at bottom this is a legal construct that we're talking about. Nonetheless, all of the witnesses consistently had some understanding that it's not simply numerical; there's also another component to it.

And if you look at the testimony of Dr. Kretchmar, she illustrated it well. She said, "I can go through what I understand to be the educational benefits of diversity. So we think of critical mass in terms of its outcomes, and I think one of the ways we try to determine if we've achieved it is by asking our students whether we've created the environment for them that they say they want in terms of studying and living

alongside people who are different from them."

You will see similar definitions in the testimony of others, and if you look at the full testimony of Taffye Clayton, who used to be head of the Office of Diversity and Multicultural Affairs, you'll see that she actually had a very good understanding of critical mass, including her statement that it can be amorphous. She then goes on to further explain:

"And certainly it would be no surprise that some lower-level admissions officers may not use the term 'critical mass' on a day-to-day basis in connection with their work, so there's nothing surprising about that, nor would it be their job to do the assessment efforts. Those are things that are being done by Mr. Farmer, Dr. Panter, and others at a higher level."

Again, this is not just a numerical concept, so it's not simply pulling out a ruler and seeing where the university is. We heard that the university has paid careful attention to these issues. The documents confirm that critical mass was discussed at UNC. Plaintiff showed one of those in their — in their opening, and you can see a couple of them on the screen. But I think much more importantly the testimony and the documents establish that the university is regularly discussing and assessing issues related to the achievement of the educational benefits of diversity, as you heard from Mr. Farmer and

Dr. Panter.

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Now, SFFA also argues that the Court cannot assess whether the university is done with the need to consider race if the university doesn't provide a detailed definition that seems to include some numbers. That is simply not the case. The evidence is very clear that the university is working hard at this but is not there yet, and the Court can confirm that through substantial evidence in the record. That includes the university's own assessment and document such as the provost report. It includes testimony, which you'll see in our next slide, from Mr. Farmer and Dr. Panter where they talk about the work being far from complete. Mr. Farmer talked about that particular year where -- where it was really tough for the students, and it led them to believe they needed more diversity than we've been able to give them. Dr. Panter talked about "We are not done. We are not done. There is a lot of work to do in many different spaces."

The expert assessments also confirm this. You will see in Dr. Chang's report that he talks about this issue and the fact that this work is very complicated and challenging, and it is an ongoing iterative process. So there is much more work to be done at UNC, and he based that on his review and evaluation of substantial survey data at the university over time.

You'll also see additional evidence of this in many of the declarations in the record. Just to provide one example, there

are faculty declarations to this effect in the record. One of them is from Professor Cuadros, who teaches in the School of Journalism. He talks about the challenges for diversity in the School of Journalism, and he concludes: "We cannot effectively teach our students these key skills that they will need to achieve in the workplace without greater diversity."

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You've also heard information from students. You've heard the Intervenors' very compelling testimony, and there are other declarations in the record from students as well. Some that come to mind are Merrick Osborne, Ashley McMillan, and Jordan Peterkin, who is one of the 98 black males who started in 2013, among others; and they talk very compellingly about the challenges that they have faced.

Significantly, there has been zero evidence from SFFA that the university has reached a critical mass and can stop working at this. SFFA has offered no expert to assess the university's achievement of the educational benefits of diversity, and SFFA has presented no contrary evidence on this point. So whatever the day is where the university reaches critical mass and can fully realize the educational benefits of diversity without the consideration of race as a factor in its admissions process, that day is not today.

I'll turn now to the second burden that the university has in this case, and that is the university's consideration of race is narrowly tailored. There are two established facts

here: One, race is not the predominant factor in admissions decisions; and, two, UNC has given good-faith consideration to race-neutral alternatives. I will address our factual evidence that fully establishes this, and Mr. Fitzgerald will add the expert evidence.

2.2

The first key fact relates to the holistic admissions process. And your Honor is also very familiar with this case law, but we have a slide with the legal standards talking about admissions programs have been approved where they're highly individualized, holistic review of each applicant's file, giving serious consideration to the ways applicants might contribute to a diverse class, and while a university may use race as a plus factor, race cannot be the predominant factor in decision-making.

So you've also heard in this case from four witnesses about the admissions process. You heard from Steve Farmer, the vice provost for enrollment; Jen Kretchmar, the social director for research; Jared Rosenberg, the associate director for evaluation; and Michael Davis, the associate director for recruitment. These witnesses are good people. They're hardworking, caring, and honest; and they know a lot about what is happening in the admissions office. Mr. Farmer started there in 2000. Mr. Rosenberg started in 1999, and Dr. Kretchmar started there in 2002. They were all credible and consistent about how they think about and review

applications.

Mr. Farmer and Mr. Rosenberg explained how the process works. It's a highly selective process that involves difficult decisions, and Mr. Rosenberg specifically walked through an application to show how he and his readers make their decisions. This testimony demonstrated that the university's holistic process complies with the law. You heard from Mr. Farmer and you saw in the reading document that there's no quotas; there is no automatic points; applicants are not reviewed in any separate categories or under separate thresholds with different standards. In fact, UNC has exactly the type of holistic and individualized admissions system that has been approved by the Supreme Court.

Key to this is that race is only one factor among many. As you see in the reading document, UNC considers a whole variety of factors when it evaluates applications, and it talks about 40 criteria that may be considered at every stage in the admissions process. Primary among them are academic factors and other qualities that the university seeks, and this is not an exhaustive list. Only one of those factors is race.

You also saw proper guidance in the reading document on race and its consideration as a -- and its appropriate consideration in the process, and Steve Farmer confirmed that that is how it actually works in practice. Jared Rosenberg also explained -- and we have some testify from him -- he says,

"If race is disclosed, it's one of many factors." And then he goes on to say, "To the extent that we do consider diversity in our class, race and ethnicity would be one of many factors that we think about when reading an application, just as we would a first-generation college student or a fee waiver or a low socioeconomic student."

1.3

I want to go back and just take a moment to look at one of the allegations that was in SFFA's complaint. SFFA, in its complaint, made some fairly impressive allegations. They include that strict scrutiny has proven to be no match for concerted disinformation hidden behind the veil of holistic admissions. That allegation has not been proven. There's no factual evidence of any cheating at school group review or otherwise. There's no factual allegation — or factual evidence of any racial balancing and, in fact, you saw very little cross to establish any wrongdoing. SFFA has pointed to core reports, but they did not show that those are being used for any proper purpose — any improper purpose, and those have not been used in any manner since 2015.

SFFA claims that there was little time spent on reviewing each application and that the -- some of the ratings were calibrated, but the UNC admissions office gets 40,000 applications a year, and of course it has to review them efficiently. That does not mean that they're not applying the holistic and individualized review that they testified to. And

the fact that there's some consistency on some ratings, such as program rating, does not show anything other than the fact the admissions office is being fair. It does not show or suggest that the readers are not looking at individual characteristics in exactly the way that they talked about.

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Now, to the extent that SFFA has relied or may later try to rely on documents that they didn't ask our witnesses about, I'd like to make a couple of points. There — there were more than 300,000 pages of documents produced in discovery. SFFA had access to reader comments on applications for four admission cycles, so for more than 120,000 cycles. SFFA didn't show you a single reader comment on an application that would suggest that readers are doing anything other than what Steve Farmer and Jared Rosenberg have sworn to under oath. And to the extent that they later try to make an argument with some documents, we urge the Court to recall that they had four admissions officers and the head of the Advisory Committee on Undergraduate Admissions here, and they didn't make their case.

Now, SFFA claims that there's an implicit formula, but Mr. Farmer and Mr. Rosenberg explained that that is not how they think about things and that there is no formula. The next slide shows some of Mr. Farmer's testimony to this effect. He states, "There is no formula. We don't think formulaically about complicated people, and every person who comes to us is complicated." He says, "We feel we owe them, that we have a

duty to them to consider them as whole complicated people and not just subject them to some formula, implicit or explicit, that doesn't do justice to their achievement and their potential and their uniqueness." He says, "Further, I don't know what this formula is. We've never talked a formula. I don't think 40 people have an implicit formula."

1.3

SFFA also claims that the university is overweighting race, but there no factual evidence of that either. SFFA notes that UNC didn't test the role of race when the admissions office did other studies, but they — the university and the admissions office looked at other issues as they arose when they had an inquiry or when they were thinking about a policy change. There was never any indication that that's been the case with race, and they told you that they never thought to do that about race because they were confident in how they were considering it.

And how did they have that confidence? Jared Rosenberg testified how it works. He's a second reader, and he participates in decision review. So he has the opportunity to read behind everyone multiple times, many, many times throughout the year, and he goes on to state, "I open hundreds of applications and read comments and understand the thought process behind different people's decisions, and so over time I can gain confidence in individual readers that they are considering all aspects of an application, that they've done

the individual comprehensive and holistic review, and that they're appropriately considering race as one of many factors that they can think about when reading the application."

Steve Farmer also testified about quality controls within the admissions process and expressed his confidence in the way that the process works.

In addition, the current Committee on Race-Neutral Strategies actually did run that test, and it confirmed factually what the admissions office thought. The Data Analytic Subcommittee confirmed that race plays an important but minimal role in the process, and that finding is reflected in DX4, the interim report of the Committee on Race-Neutral Strategies. So the factual testimony in this case fully confirmed that when it comes to admissions, UNC is doing this in the right way.

The second fact is that the testimony shows that the university has given good-faith consideration to race-neutral alternatives, and here we've also provided some of the legal standards related to this consideration, and I'd liked to just address with respect to these standards what the requirement is and what it isn't.

The Supreme Court requires that the university give serious, good-faith consideration to workable race-neutral alternatives, but they're also clear that exhaustion of every conceivable race-neutral alternative is not required.

Importantly, the Supreme Court does not specify how the
university must consider race-neutral alternatives, such as the
running of simulations, as Plaintiffs have suggested. Now, the
evidence fully supports that this is an issue that the
university has paid very close attention to for many years and
that they have engaged in various efforts to consider
alternatives. Those efforts were reasonable, and they were
undertaken in good faith.

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And in addition, the university did not stop there. It actually implemented several race-neutral strategies, including diversity recruiting efforts and generous financial aid.

That's important. The university did not just talk about this in theory. It actually adopted those — those programs and spent millions of dollars to improve access and increase diversity through race-neutral strategies.

Now, we have also prepared a timeline, and ours looks a bit different than Plaintiffs because it includes some additional things that they're not giving UNC credit for, and I'll walk through just some of the things on this timeline.

In 2004, Mr. Farmer and other admissions office leaders began regularly attending meetings of the College Board's Access & Diversity Collaborative. And Mr. Farmer testified that they were paying close attention to the natural experiments that were occurring out there in different states that had banned consideration of race, and they were also

discussing these issues with other schools.

2.2

In 2007, Mr. Farmer conducted an analysis of a low-SES plan.

In 2009, he tasked Dr. Kretchmar, who was head of research, with conducting a literature review.

Then in 2012, Mr. Farmer and Dr. Kretchmar conducted an analysis of a top 10 percent plan. Now, SFFA claims that this was only for the *Fisher* litigation effort, but there is a lot of overlap in this area between the work and litigation, as well as the broader legal environment that they were operating in, and that doesn't mean that the effort wasn't part of UNC's overall thinking and analysis.

In September of 2013, they began planning and having discussions about a new working group to consider race-neutral alternatives, and that fall invitations for the new race-neutral alternatives working group were sent out, and that group began to meet.

You then heard that in October of 2014, the working group drafted a white paper summarizing all the work that it was doing in the interim time. They had gotten data from the NCERDC, and they had run simulations on several different race-neutral alternatives, including a 10 percent plan and a 4 1/2 percent plan; and that work is in the record. This is a much better effort than Dr. Kretchmar would give herself credit for, and the people who received it considered it that way.

Mr. Farmer and Dr. Panter both testified that they considered this a very good piece of work, and it became the basis for the next committee's efforts.

In February of 2016, the Advisory Committee for Undergraduate Admissions approves the working group's white paper, and they establish the Committee on Race-Neutral Strategies.

You see after that on the timeline that the subcommittees began doing their work and providing various updates to both the larger group and to the Advisory Committee; and in May of 2018, the Committee on Race-Neutral Strategies issues its interim report to the chancellor and the provost. And whatever Plaintiffs want to say about that effort, it's in the record, and Your Honor can review it. It's an extensive, detailed, and good-faith effort that included experts in their fields, including about modeling, and people who were experts in the student experience and people who were experts in looking at the literature. And that all came together for a very extensive analysis.

And the work continued after that report, and the group continued to provide updates. I would note also that UNC should get credit for the expert analysis that was done in this case. The sets of reports from Drs. Hoxby and Long in 2018, those were reviewed by the chair of the Committee for Race-Neutral Strategies with plans at the time of the interim

report for review by the larger committee. Those reports required significant resources and were part of UNC's consideration of race-neutral alternatives.

2.2

The next line that you see on the timeline is where we set forth the efforts to implement race-neutral strategies, and this shows that those were also happening in the same time frame.

In 2004, the Carolina Covenant was established. That's a program for low-income students that allowed them to attend debt free.

In 2006, UNC established the C-STEP program, a program to increase the number of transfer students from community colleges.

In 2007, the Carolina Advising Corps was founded, and that put college advisors in underserved high schools throughout North Carolina.

And over time these programs were enhanced and grown significantly. And, of course, this is all in addition to the ongoing recruitment and financial aid efforts.

And then in 2016, UNC was a founding member of the American Talent Initiative, a program to increase access for talented low- and middle-income students.

All of this establishes that the university did consider race-neutral alternatives in good faith, but they haven't found an alternative that meets the university's diversity in

academic objectives. You heard that from both Mr. Farmer and Dr. Panter.

1.3

Now, SFFA claims that UNC didn't meet legal requirements because it framed the question as seeking alternatives that would result in equal or greater diversity in academics. UNC had to set some kind of baseline, and the current one made, especially because UNC is not where it wants to be on racial diversity. Regardless, you heard testimony that UNC didn't take anything off the table. They considered everything that came close, and you can see — we put testimony up from Mr. Farmer and Dr. Panter. Mr. Farmer states, "We always intended the term 'maintaining' to be a starting point. We don't think of this process in terms of absolutes. We would consider in good faith everything that was a serious possibility." And Dr. Panter testified similarly, but nothing has come close.

SFFA also claims there's no definition of "workable," but you've heard that the Committee on Race-Neutral Strategies has had discussion about what may go into that term and some of the things that it includes, but that it needs to be a broader discussion if and when they find something that will meet their other objectives, and they are not there yet. They have tried hard and with an open mind, but they did not find a viable alternative, and that is not surprising because, as Mr. Fitzgerald will tell you, it's not out there.

Before I turn this over to Mr. Fitzgerald to talk about the numbers, data, statistics and experts, I want to leave you with one last takeaway from Mr. Farmer. He testified in this case, "Because at the end of it, our students aren't numbers. They're people."

MR. FITZGERALD: May I proceed, Your Honor?

THE COURT: Yes, you may.

2.2.

MR. FITZGERALD: Good afternoon. I will also express my appreciation on behalf of myself, but also my client, to the Court and court staff indulging us in a live trial. It's much appreciated. I'll echo the mutual respect for engaging in this trial with adversarial counsel on a very agreeable basis. And with that, I'll turn to my argument.

Your Honor, the university, with regard to Count I, has proven in multiple ways that race is not the predominant factor in the admissions decisions. We started this case putting up the slide framing the question as to whether or not UNC uses race as the dominant factor in admissions decision. It's also been framed — that comes from *Grutter*, but *Grutter* also asks the question whether or not race is the defining feature in an application. We meet both those tests quite easily.

Ms. Brennan has reviewed with you what the facts are.

You've seen the evidence and the witnesses for yourself. Race is not the defining feature of an application. People are looked at as individuals. The expert testimony in this case

does not refute that or change that; it reinforces that. Let me tell you what I mean.

First, Your Honor, this case is not breaking new ground on the facts. The case we talk about so often, *Grutter* from 2003, is remarkably similar. We will talk about that more in our posttrial brief, but I'll frame it this way: In that case they had a plaintiff's expert who testified that race had an extraordinarily large influence on the admissions process. That was his claims. And then there was evidence and claims by the plaintiffs and recognition by the Court that race affected a number of decisions — a subset of decisions in the admissions process. The claims there and here are very similar.

The takeaway in *Grutter* wasn't that race couldn't make a difference. That's sort of the point. You have to consider things -- race, gender, background, all different things -- that can make a point. The takeaway is that in a proper and holistic admissions process that considers applicants as individuals, race can play a role in a subset of decisions. It just can't play a dominant role. That is this case.

Now, the Plaintiff, and Professor Arcidiacono in particular, don't want the question to be whether or not race plays a dominant role in the admissions process and for a good reason. They can't meet that test. We can disprove it. We have. Professor Arcidiacono constantly wanted to measure

influences, factors in small groups and didn't want to talk
about how it affected the whole group, but that's the relevant
question we have to face. And in the end, Professor
Arcidiacono agreed that race was not a predominant factor, and
I'll review that with the Court now.

He was asked the question: "Question: You were -- the question you were to address is whether race is a predominant factor in UNC's admissions process. That was your assignment as you described it in your first report, correct?

"Answer: Correct."

Then later on in his examination, he was asked: "So you will agree with me that across the whole process of admissions, considering all races, race is not the dominant factor?

"Answer: Yes."

He takes the position -- he doesn't like it being measured across the whole process, but what it is, race is not dominant. Professor Hoxby finds the same thing. There is agreement. We could almost stop there, except I think we want to make a very, very clear record in this case, because both experts agree that across the process race is not predominant.

Now, if you look at Professor Hoxby's testimony, after her analysis she testified that "My conclusion is that race and ethnicity explain only a very small share of the admissions process."

Now, Professor Hoxby explained the proper way to figure out

how to measure how much is explained, and I think at this point I should briefly talk about the fact that Plaintiff and Professor Arcidiacono keep talking about prediction rates and accuracy, and we also talked about explaining power, and they're two different things, and maybe I can give an example.

If there was a congressional election held in a district and there were two candidates and — one from each of the major parties, you could walk around and try to predict how a voter might vote. You might find out their age, their race, their gender, their background, where they grew up, what they did for a living, how far they went to school, all those sorts of things. You might find out if they're registered with a political party. If you knew all that, you could probably predict pretty well which candidate they might vote for, but that's a prediction.

If you wanted to ask them why they voted for someone, what issue motivated them to vote for that candidate -- was it their view on social justice, was it taxes, was it foreign policy, was it immigration -- that's a harder question. He keeps talking about the ability to predict. We're not here to predict admissions. We're here to explain admissions, explain what role race played, and race played a smaller share -- much smaller share than test scores, for example. Race did not dominate.

In that circumstance, Professor Hoxby explained there's a

tried-and-true method that's been used since the 1950s. She explained that the Shapley decomposition has been around since the 1950s, and it's still the only method that satisfies the free axioms that statisticians require. The Shapley decomposition is designed to show the marginal effect of any factor reliably; and if, in fact, the factor was important even for a subset of applicants, but it was important for them, the Shapley decomposition would definitely show that.

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Professor Arcidiacono backhandedly concedes that. He was asked about Professor Hoxby doing a Shapley decomposition, and he fought it on the grounds that she's answering the wrong question. His testimony: "So what's going on here is that she's thinking about how race affects the entire admissions process, and I don't think that's the right way of looking at it." That is the right way of looking at it. That is a legal question in this case. She was right to look. She was right to do the Shapley decomposition process, which has been around for 70 years. And when she looked, she found that race was not the predominant factor. In essence, both experts agree with the ultimate conclusion, and she did the work to verify that.

Now, it's a strange world where the Plaintiff's expert and the defense expert would agree on the ultimate conclusion, which means that Count I fails. But let's talk about the credibility issues between — the difference between Professor Arcidiacono and Professor Hoxby and put it on the table.

Professor Arcidiacono claimed that he was not able to sort out the influence of test scores toward admissions. We look at his testimony here:

"You don't have the ability as an economist to tell us whether or not getting high SAT scores has greater correlation with the admissions outcome than race?

"Answer: There's not an actual way to measure that.

"Question: Did you make any effort to try to determine whether or not SATs and grades were a more important factor in the admissions process than race?

"Answer: No."

Your Honor will see in the *Grutter* decision, the expert there conceded that race was not as important as test scores; and in this case, Professor Hoxby calculated the influence of test scores. The thing that you're not supposed to be able to do, she did. Professor Arcidiacono could measure the influence of race being a fee waiver candidate, missing rank, missing GPA, but somehow test scores couldn't be calculated.

I next turn to the most concerning point about

Arcidiacono's testimony when it goes to his credibility, and
that's the issue where Professor Arcidiacono changed applicant
scores to something other than what they were in the process.

If the admissions officers were seeing scores in UNC -- if
people got the same score on the same test for the same day,
radically, they gave them the same credit, but not Professor

Arcidiacono.

If we look here at this chart that we had to go through with him by asking him about files on his computer that backed up his reports, we learned about the penalties imposed on people who took the ACT test and then had to convert it to the SAT; and remarkably, Professor Arcidiacono would not admit that changing the scores of applicants who took the ACT to the SAT and deducting a different amount of points based upon the race and gender was a penalty. Here is that exchange:

"Question: If an applicant were a black female, under your model she would receive a penalty for being black of 22 points on the SAT and a penalty -- slight larger penalty of 23.6 for being female, so a total penalty of about 45 points, correct?

"Answer: I don't view it as a penalty, but that is what you get when you add those coefficients."

If you turn to the next slide, we illustrate the point.

He's supposed to be a first-rate economist modeling the process of admissions. Admissions officers see a file. On the left is what they would see in the real world if several different folks who were applicants to UNC, different races and genders, took the test and got the same score on the same day. They'd all get a 1300.

On the right is his model. The white male applicant in that circumstance would get a 1300. The Asian male applicant would actually get a 1309, and then depending on whether you're

a back male or Hispanic male or American Indian, you get different scores. And at the end, the black female would be given 1254 for the same exact performance on the test, 46 points lower than a white male and 55 points lower than an Asian male.

And yet his testimony is interesting: "Then your model is going to take the same two people, a white male and a black female who took the test on the same day and gave the same answers..." -- and then continuing -- "...there will be a difference between the white male applicant who will have a higher score than the black female applicant...?

"I think -- according to those regressions, correct."

Your Honor, I don't know where that comes from. We saw some textbooks this morning flashed on the screen. I haven't read them, but I hope there's nothing in a textbook on economics these days that says that we should change scores based upon race. This is supposed to be a standard methodology.

What's most disturbing about it is this was pointed out to Professor Arcidiacono. Did he say, "Wow, how did I make a mistake like that? How did my model get so gummed up that it does these crazy things? My bad. I'll fix it"? He stands by it. It's in his preferred model he puts before the Court. He stands there and says it's not a penalty, and he stands there and says, "Maybe I did those applicants a favor." It makes no

sense. It's not credible.

"Answer: Correct."

What else does Professor Arcidiacono do? He uses a few math tricks that I want to go through. First, he shows us some statistics. The first part of it is this decile analysis where he puts all the candidates into ten different deciles. A few things about the decile analysis.

Number one, the decile analysis is something he created. He makes an academic index, which UNC does not use. Then he scores people on this academic index into ten different deciles that UNC does not use. The idea of a decile analysis, it's not a model. It doesn't account for all the other factors in the world that might affect things. That's why you build a model. The decile analysis is, pure and simple, not scientific. He actually agrees with part of that. He agreed in his testimony when asked, "You'll agree with me that the decile analysis by itself is insufficient to show that the differences of admission rates are the result of racial preferences, correct?

And lastly on the decile analysis, when he takes people and makes them dots to go to the decile analysis, he is using his academic index, which is based in part on the SAT; and when he calculates the SAT, he's using that modeling that deducts points from people who took the SAT based upon race and gender,

The second mathematical exercise he does is these -- are

meaning some people are put in the wrong decile.

these, quote, transformation examples, mathematics gone wild. Here it is just written on a chart — chart as if this is sort of basic, changing the race of an individual. If you look at the three points on the right, the first one recognizes that you compare one hypothetical person generated by a model to a different hypothetical person generated by the model.

I'll skip the second one for the moment.

The third part says it assumes away the portion of the admissions decision that cannot be explained. Now, if we recall, there's this unobservable stuff out there. That includes personal essays, letters of recommendation, guidance counselors. All that stuff is junked out of this model, but he just thinks that he can predict what will happen when people change race.

And then number two assumes one can change an applicant's race and the rest of the applicants' life is unchanged. What does Professor Arcidiacono and Professor Hoxby each say about this?

You can skip to the next slide, Aaron. If you can go to the next one.

Professor Arcidiacono says, "Obviously, people do not change their race, but this is a standard practice in the empirical world for economics. This is how we measure these preferences."

Professor Hoxby diplomatically says in her answer, "This is

just not a sensible statistical thing to do under these circumstances, creating models to predict and then changing race and projecting outcomes."

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And one last piece. I find it odd we've heard now today, I think for the first time, that the admissions process may be mechanical. I heard no evidence from folks involved in the admissions process that it's mechanical. This formulaic becoming mechanical makes no sense to me, but it certainly makes no sense to hear it from a side that sponsored a model that can change race.

Let's talk about the last mathematical example, which concerns percentages, and I'll put percentages in quotes. We learn that Professor Arcidiacono likes to measure things. Не usually likes to measure the influence of race alone, in a small section where the numbers might be higher. And charts were put before the Court on his direct referencing a number for 91.1 percent of explaining something. And when I grew up, 91.1 percent meant about 91 out of 100. But as it turns out -and our slides are pretty small -- Professor Hoxby went back and said, "Wait a minute. If you're measuring the influence of race on a decision, what about the other things?" And she goes through and looks at what else affects the decision; and, lo and behold, when you add up the percentages, it's 91 percent or a couple of hundred percents, it all adds up to 543 percent plus. That's not a percent. Percents are out of a hundred.

And more interestingly, Judge, besides being misleading math, if you look at this chart, the 91.1 percent number he gets is for share due to race/ethnicity under a column that's looking at a subset of the applicants, just the African American applicants. That's 91.1 percent. If you look across the whole process at all the races, the column two to the right is 21 percent. That 21 percent is on a scale of, if my eyes tell me correctly, 539. I checked with my calculator beforehand. If you divide 21 by 539, a little bit less than 4 percent.

So here he has a modeling that would show the effect of race by his model, that we don't agree with, would be 4 percent. But he puts it on a scale of 500 and calls it 21 percent, then changes the question to how does this affect one subgroup; and we've gone from 4 percent to 91 percent with a couple of nifty moves. This is misleading math. This is not math you'll find in a textbook when you get percentages that are 500, 543. That doesn't work and that is not credible.

As to his model, even if one put aside some of the other issues, one would note he's always trying to find a way to measure in a small group and not across the process. I will briefly talk about Professor Hoxby in comparison. We firmly believe that Professor Hoxby is far more credible than Professor Arcidiacono and Mr. Kahlenberg as an expert. I'll come back later as to whether or not some of her testimony,

which was characterized as incoherent -- I will come back to that at the end as a separate topic.

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But just looking at how she dealt with race-neutral alternatives, it was clear that Professor Hoxby went out of her way to try to give every race-neutral alternative a shot. She wasn't gaming for one side or the other. She said, If you had a race-neutral alternative, what assumptions do we need to make? And then she had made the assumptions that were generous, that favored the other side. She wasn't trying to predict an outcome. Her models don't say what's likely to happen. Her models are measuring what would happen on the best day for a race-neutral alternative.

And when she was pressed on cross-examination about her role, I think she gave a very eloquent answer. She said, "I think I still owe it to people to choose assumptions that are not so favorable that we're starting to make things up. I don't think that's my role as an expert. I think I need to be responsible to the data and to the truth." And I think that captures her.

I will briefly do one more digression into math because it was raised this morning. We heard a lot of testimony yesterday about the pseudo R-squared and what it means, and we had some passing references to textbooks, and there was a challenge again today as to whether or not she could properly use the pseudo R-squared. It's a tempest in a teapot that I'll

explain.

First, they cited to a text that said something to the effect that the pseudo R-squared has no logical connection to the fit of the data. In other words, what does the pseudo R-squared mean? It doesn't tell you how it fits. That's an interesting approach to take since their own expert testified differently. Professor Arcidiacono has a problem where he disagrees and thinks the R-squared may not give full credit for how much it fits the data, but there's a relationship between pseudo R-squared and the fit.

Here's what he said in his testimony: "The pseudo R-squared is trying to get a measure of fit for the model.

Pseudo R-squared is trying to find a counterpart to R-squared.

But what it really does is it just says if it's a higher number, it fits the data better."

Let me tell you why it's a tempest in a teapot.

Professor Hoxby says that with the pseudo R-squared in her model, she thinks it explains — not predicts, explains about 50 percent of the decision. They both agree that her model might predict 85 percent of the decision but explains 50 percent. Professor Arcidiacono thinks it's more. Putting aside the fact that we fundamentally disagree with his model and his assumptions and what else is baked in there, they can't vary that much. If she says it predicts half, there's no way in the world it predicts all. But let's just spot him there

for a hypothetical.

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In the pie chart where she shows how much race explains — race on the left is that small red bar, 1.2 percent, and on the right, I believe it's 9.8 percent how much test scores show, and that's a better model because it shows both race and test scores. The red, green, and orange is what is explained, according to Professor Hoxby. Professor Arcidiacono thinks more is explained by those three colors, okay.

If we doubled it, if we gave it credit as if the model didn't explain half but explained all, which would be totally unrealistic, the red slice for race would go from 1.2 percent to 2.4 percent. That's what that fight is about, 1 percent or 2 1/2 percent. In addition, SAT scores would go from 9.8 percent to 19 percent. There's no change in the fundamental fact that race is a less important factor.

And that takes us back to the initial point. Both experts agree that race is not the dominant factor across the admissions process, and we can't lose sight of that.

I know counsel would prefer I not talk about school group review, but I must. It's important. It was an allegation that they made. I know the passive voice can sometimes be very elegant, but the complaint said that there was a school group review process and the director of admissions, Steve Farmer, knew what the race of the applicants were, and the complaint put forward the thought that school group review and other

areas like waitlists were being used to cheat. They brought the claim. They libeled Steve Farmer six years ago this week. It was filed November 17th, 2014. And he waited for his day in court. They never asked him a question about it.

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Now, there's a logic to this. If you're a cheater and you want to cheat the rules, you want to put your thumb on a scale improperly in the admissions process, that's the place to do it. Yet one expert worked for more than a thousand hours, the other expert I forget how many hundreds of hours, and evidently neither of them checked. They just made the allegation.

Well, you don't need to be an economist from Duke or Stanford or Harvard to figure that out. You just count up the tentative decisions. How many black, white, Hispanic, Native American applicants are there in the temporary decisions or the tentative decisions? Then count up how they changed. You just need a calculator. Well, Professor Hoxby did it, and school group review turns out to be the dog that didn't bark, the sign that cheating wasn't going on.

And there's some important information in this slide that I would like to cover. If you look here, the first takeaway that Professor Hoxby told us is that not a lot happened at school group review, and that's clear. When the changes were made, they were small. A lot of the blue bubbles showed no changes, some went up and some went down. So that tells you something. But look at the top bar, and in the top bar, you look at 2013

and 2014. When the applicants went into the school group review process, 10.1 percent of the admits were black, and when school group reviewed ended, that number didn't change.

Now, what's interesting about that is you can go to the right. The next year, at the beginning of the process,

9.3 percent of the admits — the tentative admits were black.

And here is a fact that came out in the trial record in a disconnected fashion. The year before, 2013—'14, there were less than 100 black males on campus in the freshman class at UNC, less than 100 out of 4,000. Steve Farmer told you it was very upsetting. Students were upset. He was upset. It was a problem.

And yet the next year they went in that school group review process, it was 9.3 percent black admits, lower than the year before. And what happened at school group review process? The red bar shows it. The numbers went down. Even when it was most extreme, they didn't cheat. That tells you something.

And I'll also tell you that's very, very ironic that they would say here, I guess — "evidence not developed at trial" was a phrase used this morning, as if the allegation didn't happen but might be there, or not pressing a specific claim to the school group review process. They called UNC and its people cheaters, and it isn't true. They never backed down.

And even now they're starting to back into a different theory. They allege racial balancing in the complaint. No

evidence. It never happened. Now we're starting to hear about what happens when they train people, the calibration theory, so 2 3 now some other scheme that's not school group review, it's not 4 waitlist review, not balancing review. They even said today 5 that the admissions officers aren't trying. When are they going to stop libeling officers you've met and you saw, who 6 7 work hard, and without proof just cast aspersions on their character? And why do they have to do it? Because the 8 9 evidence is otherwise amazingly weak. There was no 10 manipulation of the school group review process. There was no manipulation of the waitlist. There is no scheme to lie, 11 cheat, and fake. 12 1.3 Even when he was on the stand, they didn't ask him about it. They confronted him with the fact that after he was 14 15 falsely accused of using race to manipulate, he took race off the core reports. And he explained why. If you're falsely 16 17 accused of something, then you don't want to leave the impression that you're using race in the core reports to do 18 that. And here was the question and answer: 19 20 "And you knew that your admissions process was going to be 21 subject to discovery, correct? 2.2 "Answer: Yes. 23 "And you wouldn't want anyone to get the wrong idea? 24 "Answer: That's correct."

Well, that's exactly right. He was tired of people getting

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the wrong idea.

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So, Your Honor, I will wrap up Count I this way: Race was not the predominant factor in the admissions process. It was not the defining feature of an application. You saw that through the witnesses who testified. You saw how they explained what they did and what they didn't do. You also know that because both experts agreed on the answer to the ultimate question that race is not the predominant factor across the admissions process. And you saw that because Professor Hoxby did what people are supposed to do and tried to measure -- not predict but measure the influence of a factor. She did a Shapley decomposition, and that bore out too and showed that race was far less important than test scores and other things.

And finally, the school group review process proves it. That's where they would have cheated if they wanted to, and they didn't.

I will turn to Count II. Here as well the university has met its burden. It has proved that there are no race-neutral alternatives available to the university that would allow the university to achieve about the same level of academic preparedness and about the same level of diversity at a workable and tolerable administrative expense. It's a bit of a mouthful.

I will tell you, because we've never gotten close to what would be workable being discussed at this trial, we haven't

talked about cost. We haven't talked about what tolerable administrative expense would be. We'll address that in our 2 3 papers. We will make clear that when experts were asked to 4 measure to see if they could recreate the same numbers, that wasn't a legal determination. They were asked to measure 5 something objective. There hasn't been anything close. 6 7 Imagine if you were to ask someone is someone about as tall as 8 six feet. You wouldn't ask an expert that. You would say, Go 9 measure them. And in this example, Dr. Hoxby was asked to 10 measure. What she would say is, "I gave them every edge I 11 could. I let them wear platform shoes. I let them stand on their heels. I let them do whatever they wanted to do, and 12 13 they couldn't reach six feet tall." 14 So I will make three points. First, as a matter of 15 historical context, race-neutral alternatives had not worked at other highly selective universities. And I'll do this quickly. 16 17 The one that's been most cited is California. California, 18 where race-conscious admissions ended in 1996, and we're now --19 24 years later we may hear that the class of '20 may have 20 achieved success? If the hope for the prior experience in 21 other universities is that UNC can replicate California, god 22 help UNC. That's 20 years of failure -- 24 years of failure. 23 That doesn't work. And as Professor Bridget Long said, "I find 24 it difficult to take a leap that a policy that started 20 years prior is responsible for the current, you know, makeup of the

student body, especially given all the changes that have gone on in California. The past does not give us hope that there's a current way to do it."

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And that's after all the literature review by

Dr. Kretchmar, Dr. Panter, Steve Farmer within UNC, and all the

efforts of experts from both sides in this case. Race-neutral

alternatives have not worked at selective universities before.

Second point of context: No Court has found to date for a selective university that a race-neutral alternative would work. I opened with that point a week ago now on Monday, and the next day the First Circuit affirmed that same decision by Judge Burroughs in Harvard where she found that one would not work there. And I agree different schools, different systems. The fact that no other Court found one that worked is useful context.

That leaves us the last hope for coming up with an alternative that will work is in the simulation world, and I submit when we go to the world of simulations and not the real world, where no one has actually seen it happen, we need a healthy dose of humility as to how much we can do with a mathematical model that changes things. As a case in point, if the whole discovery process had stopped after the first expert report by Mr. Kahlenberg in this case, he would have had a report that said his simulation was, quote, superior to the status quo in virtually every respect after careful

investigation. And it wasn't true. The report went out in good faith. Professor Hoxby spotted one mistake where they missed filling 15 percent of the class. Then she spotted another mistake where they had missed another 15 percent of the class. The SAT numbers were very different. That plan was a failure. We can't take chances on models unless people are very careful. As Professor Long says, the details matter.

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Now, the assumptions in modeling are what's critical. We do bar graphs; they do bar graphs. But what's more important than the bar graphs is what is built into those bar graphs, and that's the flaw in the Kahlenberg simulations that we'll talk about. I note that Professor Hoxby ran something like 109 different simulations of race-neutral alternatives. She did it with assumptions favoring the race-neutral alternative, and it didn't work. The fact that none of them worked -- and I'll talk about the Kahlenberg simulations in a moment -- tells us a lot.

A brief discussion of Mr. Kahlenberg. We don't have any issues with his views, but we have serious issues with his qualifications to do modeling in the space and offer that as a serious alternative to what the facts are. This is a personal cause for him, understood, but he edited the complaint; he funded personally an amicus brief in the Supreme Court; and his personal views for socioeconomic diversity are admirable, shared by many, but they don't address the issues of the case,

whether or not racial diversity can be replicated in a manner that is workable. For example, his efforts — he did not know when Professor Hoxby would point out errors in his model. He'd have to ask Professor Arcidiacono whether that was correct, and it was.

Now, before -- I'm going to -- in the interest of time,

Your Honor, I'm going to skip past a few things that

professor -- Mr. Kahlenberg indicated we should pursue as

race-neutral alternatives that we're already doing, so we'll

address it in our brief.

But we have -- UNC's engaged in extensive recruiting efforts. UNC has engaged in increased financial aid. And I'll talk briefly about that. If you look at the slide to the right, one point that's really, really critical to appreciate is that UNC is but one of only two public universities that meet 100 percent -- Aaron, go back.

It's only one of two public universities in the country that meet 100 percent of demonstrated need. There's the Carolina Covenant program that allows people not only to have their need met, but not even need to take out a loan. That value has been recognized as the best value among public universities for the last 17 years in a row. I won't dwell on community college transfers or other programs.

Let me turn to one issue about wealth briefly.

Mr. Kahlenberg thinks that part of the solution to the problem

is to get more wealth information, and because one law school has it and no college has it, that is workable. Yet the issue 2 3 that Steve Farmer immediately spotted was the fact that 4 actually filling out more forms hurts low-income students because it discourages them from applying. That's the sort of 5 thing you learn when you're a person on the ground who knows 6 these things, rather someone who is well-intentioned who doesn't know the details. And then you heard if from Professor 8 9 Bridget Long when she said, importantly -- and she's an expert 10 in FAFSA and financial information who has testified before Congress: "This is a way we lose low-income students in terms 11 of going to college, because every form is a barrier." 12 13 So I will turn to the simulations, and I'll do them in categories, and I'll move swiftly because I think the point can 14 15 be made succinctly. In those simulations, Mr. Kahlenberg is trying to will a race-neutral alternative across the finish 16 17 line, but he does that without realistically accounting for how 18 applicant behavior will change. It's all in the assumptions. So let me give you three different situations that his models 19 20 fall into. 21 In some he's worried that URM, underrepresented minority, 22 diversity may fall; it has to hold. And that's a real concern. 23 If you have an admissions program like UNC where you tell the 24 world, "We're committed to diversity in the classroom, in the lab, on the field, in the dorm, everywhere, and we will be

race-conscious in admissions; we will consider everyone's different strengths -- socioeconomic diversity, racial diversity, geographic diversity -- and we are a welcoming environment, not perfect, but an environment that is welcoming and trying to get better," that is one message.

And then one day you tell the world, "Not so much anymore. We're not interested in racial diversity. We'll not consider it." An applicant might well look at that school differently. They have in the past. That's what happened in Texas. An applicant might be an underrepresented minority who says, "I don't feel so welcome there." It might be a white male who says, "I don't want to go to a school that's less committed to diversity." And people don't apply and they don't apply and next year there's less diversity. That can feed upon itself as more and more people say, "This is not the place I want to go to. I want to go somewhere else."

What does his model do to account for this? It just assumes the problem away. When he has those issues, he just assumes that the applicant pool never changes; every underrepresented minority who applied before where race was given consideration and can be a plus factor keeps on applying, and if they get in, they actually come. It just assumes away the problem and puts up a pretty graph that makes it sound like underrepresented minority representation won't change because the applicant pool doesn't change, and everyone who gets in

matriculates. He doesn't allow for choice.

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The second problem he faces is when they're trying to maintain top test scores. And I'll give you one example I think we can explain cleanly with a slide. Many of his SES boost programs give lower income people extra points in the SAT. One of them was more than 400. Now, think about what incentives that creates. Let's say you're a person who's low income and you have an 1100 SAT score. You may be thinking, "I can't get into UNC. My scores are too low and maybe I can't afford to go there." And someone from the College advisory Corps tells you one day, "Things are different. You're getting an extra 400 or 420 points on your SAT score. Your 1100 is now a 1520; and, by the way, we're need blind; and, by the way, if you're lower income, you'll graduate without any debt." Wow. That's attractive. Think of it as a 17- or 18-year-old kid, think of their parents saying, "This is a new day." So they apply, and with a 420-point bump, they'll get in.

This chart was trying to illustrate this. It's -- I hope I'm clear, but the top line would be the regular process as it is now, and all those greens bars are different applicants with different SAT scores, but they average out to a 1294. Then if the SES boost plan is announced where people are told they get 400 points more credit, they will get new applicants. Those are the blue bars. Someone who has a 952 on the SAT, ordinarily not a very strong chance of getting in, but with 400

points or more, they're now a 1352 as far as the model goes. Now you're getting those applicants that are blue bars that 2 3 have low SAT scores, but they get plused up for admissions 4 purposes. 5 Now when you run the averages across the admissions class, 6 the SAT scores go down considerably because now they don't 7 count the 400 points. That's not what they got on their SAT. 8 The 1100 is an 1100. That's a problem if you're trying to 9 replicate the same level of academic preparedness because 10 you're bringing in a whole host of people who have lower 11 scores. 12 What does the Kahlenberg simulations do? Assumes away the problem. No one new is allowed to apply in those models. They 13 14 just assume that you announce an SES-boost, which opens the 15 doors to lower-income people to apply and get in and go and graduate debt free, and nothing changes in applicant behavior. 16 17 Your Honor, that's how assumptions rig the system. If you have to assume that the program fails to make it work, it's not 18 workable. They're betting on a model that appeals to 19 20 low-income students, but the only way the numbers can't fall, 21 they have to lock all those applicants out and then run their 22 regressions and come up with great answers. 23 Finally, there's a scenario where they do switch and allow

people to apply. Well, what's clear is they're not

pressure-testing their assumptions. They're not saying what's

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that tells you everything.

the best case and what's the worst case. Every time they pick an assumption, they cherry-pick the one that favors the model. If I'm worried about too many minority applicants not applying anymore, don't let them leave. They're stuck in an applicant pool. If I'm worried for modeling purposes that low-income students come flooding in with lower scores, lock them out. That's how they do it. When they switch to the "let's open it up to the broader universe," they need numbers. They need lots of minority applicants to apply in the hope of maintaining racial diversity, and they need lots of really smart test takers to apply. Lots of 1600 kids would be great so you can keep the average score up. Well, there's a problem with that. The problem is it takes two to tango. There's a university, and there's an applicant. Applicants have choices, and applicants with high test scores have lots of choices. They just assume in their model that they get them all. Every valedictorian in the state of North Carolina is assumed to apply, admitted, assumes to go -to come to the University of North Carolina; no one stays closer to home, no one goes to Duke, no one goes to MIT or Stanford. All their models are based upon these fictions which cannot hold true in the real world. Even with those assumptions, they fall short of the actual numbers today, and

Your Honor, with regard to Count II, we have met the burden

of proof to show that there is no race-neutral alternative that works. We looked at the history of what's happened in the rest of the country. We've looked at Court opinions. We've looked at the models -- the 108 models that Professor Hoxby ran, and we've looked at the Kahlenberg simulations which only look good when you make crazy assumptions.

Let me turn to one comment which was brought up, that

Professor Hoxby was fundamentally incoherent, because how could

she explain why race is so important in the admissions — so

unimportant in the admissions process, and yet it's so hard to

replicate diversity. Well, I could ask the same question back:

If race is so dominant, how easily could you replace it? But I

don't need to. On a chart, if we had a decile, I think

Professor Hoxby has got four to five deciles above me in

coherence, but I'll try.

We can't mistake dominance for importance. The UNC admissions process does not have race as a predominant factor. It allows race to play a role in some decisions, some decisions on the bubble. That's the point. Those decisions are not dominant, but they're important. They make the difference between whether you have a year with less than a hundred black males enrolling in a freshman class or not. Not being dominant doesn't mean it's not important, doesn't mean it's not fundamental to the learning and engaging that goes on campus; and on the other hand, every time you take out race

consciousness for admissions, the arrow points down on diversity. It has to. You're sending a message to the world that it no longer counts as much, we no longer care as much, and every incentive then is for folks to leave the applicant pool who may be minorities, and if there's another program in place, it may bring in folks or not. So it's important even though it's not dominant, and it's hard to replace.

The fact that we don't have a race-neutral alternative available now doesn't mean people aren't trying for it. Life would be a whole lot easier for all of us when the day comes when no race-neutral alternative is needed or until then a race-neutral alternative will work.

I will end my remarks where we began a week ago. This case is about factors, not simulated facts. The case is about facts, not math. It's about people, not dots. I know that there was an argument made that, gee, if you only spend 10 minutes on an application, maybe it's mechanical.

You may recall, Your Honor, that there was an applicant from Kenya who we talked about -- and if we just blow that up a little bit so I'm not trying to strain my eyes here -- who talked about coming over from Kenya and being stereotyped by the kids he met in America who expected him to be a certain way. He said, "To my peers, I'm supposed to fit in with the displaced African stereotype, the first time I felt classified and like an outlier on a graph."

1 THE CLERK: Two minutes.

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MR. FITZGERALD: Those applicants that you've heard from, they're unobservables in all these models. The Intervenors, their stories from personal essays and life stories, much of that is unobservable.

Steve Farmer is unobservable in these models, the role he plays. The role the admissions officers play are unobservable because they don't fit into dots and graphs. Steve Farmer and those admissions officers were unobservables to you, Your Honor, two weeks ago, but not anymore. You saw them for who they are, what they do, and what they don't do. What they do is they see applicants as real people. They don't have race define the features of any applicant. What they don't do is cheat or violate the Constitution.

We need those people. UNC needs those people. UNC needs to have race-conscious admissions. This is not the time or the place to throw out that system and replace that system with an academic index and a barrel of hope. It's got to be right. It's important. This is not the time, I submit, that the Court should enjoin UNC from doing the right thing for the right reasons in the right way.

Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you.

Does anyone need a short break? I just want to make sure my staff is okay before we proceed with the next discussion.

1 All right. Yes, ma'am. 2 MS. TORRES: Thank you. And Genevieve Bonadies Torres 3 for the Defendant Intervenors. 4 And I'll start as well by thanking the Court for navigating 5 us through this trial under difficult circumstances with both 6 generosity and expertise. So thank you. 7 Good afternoon. One moment. Can I check if the clicker 8 works? Yes. 9 THE COURT: 10 MR HINOJOSA: Is it on? MS. TORRES: Thank you. I turned it on. 11 12 THE COURT: All right. 1.3 MS. TORRES: Context matters when reviewing race-based governmental action under the Equal Protection Clause. 14 15 are the words of the Supreme Court in Grutter. Context is key, and the Student-Intervenors' testimony and application files 16 17 evidence how UNC's particularized context makes UNC's race-conscious policy not only lawful but vital for producing 18 profound educational benefits and transforming our broader 19 society. UNC's context is shaped by its campus climate. 20 21 Students express their interactions across diversity were 22 eye-opening and made them more empathetic. It's shaped by 23 UNC's sociohistorical legacy of racial exclusion. UNC has made substantial strides toward racial inclusion, but its segregated 24 past permeates the campus today. In the words of Star, there's

racist wallpaper across campus that makes students of color feel alienated. And, finally, its shaped by the experiences of UNC's student body who apply, enroll, and graduate to lead communities across North Carolina and the country, students like Laura Ornelas, whose racial identity is central to who she is and must be referenced, in her words, "to provide a full picture of who I am."

2.2

While the Student-Intervenors and Defendants have offered extensive evidence of the student experience, the Plaintiff has been silent. They've offered no student testimony and no analysis of the student experience. Instead, the Plaintiff seeks to take the facts of this case out of context. They decontextualize race in the admissions process, and they ignore the campus context altogether. It's a strategy that fails under our constitutional standards, just as it's failed in cases involving Michigan Law School, UT-Austin, and most recently Harvard University.

When UNC's particularized context is properly considered,
UNC more than carries its burden on the two remaining counts in
this case, which I will address in reverse order. First,
race-conscious admissions remains necessary. The evidence
shows that there are no viable alternatives to considering race
that can comparably reap the very benefits of diversity on
UNC's campus. UNC has laid out its well-defined goals in DX3,
its report on the educational benefits of diversity and

inclusion. These goals are consistent with the previously approved goals in *Fisher*. As our Student-Intervenors and the student surveys attest, UNC is making meaningful progress toward these goals.

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To take just a few examples, racial diversity is helping to promote the robust exchange of ideas. Star Wingate-Bey shared how she, as one of the few black women in the class, raised critical points in a class discussion about voter ID laws. She voiced how such restrictions disenfranchise and inflict harm on the black community, a problem that was otherwise overlooked by her predominantly white classmates.

It broadens and refines understanding. Hanna Watson testified about how -- her close friendship with a white South African woman, how her friend shared her perspective on apartheid, and Hanna shared about what it means to be a black women and all of its complexities. It was healing, and together they formed a better understanding of how to create a racially reconciled society.

This student testimony is consistent with the student surveys that UNC has conducted over decades to evaluate its progress. For example, the 2016 diversity survey, which is in the record in this case, showed that 80 percent of students agreed that "exposure to diversity has improved my ability to understand people from racial or ethnic backgrounds different from my own."

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But while UNC has made substantial strides towards its diversity goals, evidence suggests that more progress is needed. Stephen Farmer and Dr. Jayakumar both evaluated UNC's progress towards its diversity goals using qualitative and quantitative measures. Both found that UNC has not yet fully harnessed diversity's benefits based on ample evidence that UNC's racial minority students express high levels of feeling tokenized in class and uncomfortable participating.

The Supreme Court has endorsed precisely this type of evaluative approach that UNC is pursuing. Most recently in Fisher, the Supreme Court affirmed UT-Austin's race-conscious admissions policy after considering both statistical and anecdotal evidence that African American and Hispanic students experience feelings of loneliness and isolation.

Indeed, Student-Intervenor testimony provides painstaking proof that more progress is needed at UNC. First, black and Latinx students remain woefully underrepresented in many courses. This makes black and Latinx students feel like spokespersons for their race. As Star explained, she was often the fact checker for the black experience, which was exhausting and a burden.

Such isolation also impedes cross-racial interaction.

Andrew Brennen explained that he felt like he could not contribute to classroom discussions when he was one of the only black students in the room and all of the eyes turned to him to

explain a racially charged topic.

Second, black and Latinx students continue to face incidents of racial hostility on campus. Rimel Mwamba shared about how classmates told her slaves were not welcome at parties. Andrew was called racial slurs on numerous occasions.

Third, UNC's particularized history of racial exclusion continues to have present-day effects that exacerbate racial isolation felt by UNC's black and Latinx students. Hanna Watson shared about feeling terrified and targeted when the relics of that history brought white supremacists onto campus as part of a rally.

UNC student surveys demonstrate that these are not isolated incidents, but reflective of patterns across the student body. For example, the 2016 diversity survey showed approximately half of black students and a third of Latinx students agreed with the statement "I feel pressured in the classroom to represent the views of all people from my racial and ethnic background," as compared to 4 percent of white students. The survey also reflected such isolation suppresses meaningful cross-racial interaction. Approximately 40 percent of black students and a third of Latinx students agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I feel that I need to minimize aspects of my racial or ethnic culture to fit in here," compared to just 7 percent of white students.

Survey data likewise showed that racial hostility remains

commonplace on UNC's campus. 91 percent of students reported hearing insensitive and disparaging racial remarks made by other students, and the majority of students of color have personally experienced bias at UNC. Of those reporting bias, 70 percent of Latinx students, 95 percent of black students, and 100 percent of American Indian students report they've specifically experienced bias due to their race.

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All of these challenges are eased by greater levels of racial diversity across groups and within groups. As Rimel explained, when faced with racial hostility, she found relief and recovery by surrounding herself with other African American students. It allowed her to grow more into herself and to find pride in her black identity.

Students of color are also doing the work of moving the campus toward a healthier, more inclusive culture. Cecilia and Laura were both heavily engaged in recruiting more students of color onto UNC's campus, and Andrew Brennen explained that black women in particular are leading the efforts to dismantle the relics of UNC's exclusionary past and move it towards a racially inclusive future. By cultivating a depth of diversity across and within racial groups, race-conscious admissions is indispensable for reaping the transformational benefits flowing to today's students. It's indispensable as well for tackling the current campus climate challenges so that UNC may continue progressing towards fully achieving its diversity goals.

The Plaintiff does not dispute that race-conscious admissions currently plays an important role in cultivating racial diversity on campus. While Dr. Arcidiacono's analysis is flawed on many levels, his findings show the harms at stake. He asserts that eliminating the consideration of race would sharply reduce the number of black and Hispanic students by 3,580 students over six years. That represents roughly a 50 percent reduction in the black and Hispanic students on campus, students who are already highly marginalized and isolated on campus. All students would lose out from this decline.

The Plaintiff's expert, Mr. Kahlenberg, tries to mitigate these harms by saying UNC could achieve comparable benefits by using so-called race-neutral alternatives, but his alternatives do not make up for the losses. It is worth underscoring up front that Mr. Kahlenberg agreed that the best and most efficient method for promoting racial diversity is to consider race in admissions. He also did not consult with any students or provide any analysis of how students currently feel racially isolated on campus.

Turning to Mr. Kahlenberg's model, the flaws are numerous and extensive, as Defendants' counsel has just discussed.

Student-Intervenors further emphasize three critical deficiencies.

First, the decline in underrepresented minority students

would likely be even greater than estimated because Mr. Kahlenberg's models -- sorry -- do not account for the 2 3 real-world changes in applicant behavior. The evidence shows 4 that highly qualified students of color would be less likely to 5 apply and less likely to accept those offers. For example, Laura Ornelas stated forthrightly that if UNC had not 6 7 considered race, it would signal to her that students of color were not welcome, and she would have been less likely to apply. 8 9 As a second defect, Mr. Kahlenberg is flatly wrong to 10 suggest that socioeconomic status can serve as a proxy for 11 race. As Andrew testified, his race and socioeconomic status are not interchangeable or alike in how he experiences the 12 world. When he's running through a nice neighbor, people 13 notice his skin color and assume he's an outsider, irrespective 14 15 of his relatively affluent status. As a third defect, Mr. Kahlenberg's modeling threatens to 16 17 reduce the diversity within each racial group. His mechanical 18 admission of students based on singular metrics, such as class rank and large socioeconomic boosts, threatens to flatten the 19 20 very backgrounds of black, Latinx, and Native American students

who are currently admitted through UNC's process. A drop in interracial diversity reduces the benefits flowing to students. As Cecilia Polanco shared, diversity within the Latinx community taught her to deconstruct her own previously held biases about her own people. It showed her Latinos were not a

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monolith.

Taken together, these significant deficiencies indicate Mr. Kahlenberg's proposed alternatives would lead to steep declines in racial diversity across and within groups. The all-but-certain decline in diversity would further limit UNC's capacity to enroll diverse students since students of color play a leading role in UNC's recruiting efforts. As you heard from Cecilia Polanco, it was seeing other students that looked like her at recruitment events that made her want to attend UNC. Altogether it's clear from the factual record that racial considerations remain necessary at UNC.

The remaining question is whether UNC's manner of considering race is individualized. The substantial record shows that it is. Admitted black, Latinx, and Native American students are eminently qualified and thrive once admitted. UNC considers all pertinent elements of diversity, and UNC does not award predetermined points or insulate candidates from review.

The Plaintiff seeks to decontextualize UNC's highly complex, individualized process by manipulating the data to assert that race is the defining feature for admitting black and Latinx students, but that claim is false. And Luis Acosta's file exemplifies why. His file includes his career interest in being a physician, his bilingual language proficiency, his dad's career as an assembly worker, his wide range of honors and AP classes, and nearly straight As, his

deep involvement in extracurriculars. And situated within this rich contextual information, Luis voluntarily checked the box for Hispanic and Latino and further identified as Mexican American. He wrote one personal essay about his grandmother who lacked effective medical care in Mexico who has driven him to become a doctor, and a second essay on the problematic stereotypical portrayals of minority men and the racial prejudice he's encountered as a result. The essay discusses his efforts to dispel these stereotypes through cross-racial conversations.

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Luis shared all of this with UNC, and UNC listened and saw him for his complexity. The reader comments note his socioeconomic circumstances noting his fee waiver status, his being first generation, his lower test scores, which are nevertheless countered by his bilingual language abilities, varied extracurriculars with 300-plus volunteer hours, and supportive recommendations. Amidst all these comments is a note that he would add diversity. UNC did not reduce Luis to only his grades and test scores, as done by Dr. Arcidiacono's crude academic decile analysis. Doing so is highly misleading. As Luis testified, his standardized test scores were not as high because he lacked the financial resources to take test prep courses that are shown to boost scores. UNC did not reduce Luis to his class rank or solely his socioeconomic status, as done by Mr. Kahlenberg's modeling, which captures an

incomplete picture of Luis's dynamic background. Rather, the comments show how UNC is engaging in precisely the type of highly sensitive, individualized review process that the Supreme Court has repeatedly affirmed.

And Luis is not a singular example. All of the

Student-Intervenors testified to their strong academics, their
wide-ranging work in their communities, and their compelling
stories tied to their racial identity. And, in fact,
eliminating race-conscious admissions would significantly
undermine the highly individualized process that the Supreme
Court has repeatedly endorsed. All eight of the
Student-Intervenors who testified expressed their ethnicity
remains an important inextricable aspect of their identity,
perspective, and future contributions.

The Plaintiff doesn't say that these strengths should not be valued, but their requested remedy would compel universities to blind themselves to any reference to race, a remedy that has been rejected for over 40 years.

In sum, Your Honor, the context matters. Our Constitution does not require colleges to blind themselves to the meaningful context of students' lived experiences. Indeed, constitutional standards suggest otherwise. As *Grutter* explained, by virtue of our nation's struggle with racial inequality, such minority students are both likely to have experiences of particular importance to an institution's mission and less likely to be

admitted in meaningful numbers on criteria that ignore those experiences.

And just this past week the First Circuit acknowledged students' experiences can justify the legality of race-conscious policies. The Court -- the First Circuit noted how many students wrote in their applications how racial identities have shaped their precollege experiences from which admissions officers may appropriately infer a student's leadership ability or other personal strengths.

Student experiences provide critical context in this case as well. Student-Intervenors, along with the UNC Defendants, have developed a context-rich record which shows UNC's holistic race-conscious admissions process cultivates the type of citizen leaders who can support UNC, North Carolina, and the country in the ongoing, yet still unfulfilled, efforts to bridge racial divisions and lift up all of our increasingly diverse communities.

Student-Intervenors trust that this Court's holistic review of the evidence, much like the UNC admissions policy itself, will account for their stories and affirm the lawfulness of UNC's race-conscious admissions process.

Thank you.

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THE COURT: Thank you.

All right. That concludes our trial. Let me say -- and I think I have been very clear throughout -- I have been so

pleasantly impacted by the way in which these teams have worked together to make this happen in this very difficult environment. I don't think we could have made it through this many days with this -- with the kind and quality of testimony that we have dealt with if we didn't have attorneys the caliber of each of you. It has been my pleasure to preside over this trial.

I do wish I could step down and shake each one of your hands, but we'll leave that for another day. But I will say I think you have done an extraordinary job in very difficult circumstances, and the Court appreciates that.

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I would like to also thank my staff, who have been totally committed to this process and making it work, and I appreciate all of that support as well.

The next thing will be the findings of fact that I understand you will file within 30 days of the final transcript being produced. I cannot make a — an estimate of time that it will take for that to happen. I do know we have one of the best court reporters that's working with us at this time, and she will, based on her other commitments, work very hard to get this done. She knows this is a priority for me, and it's very important.

Are there any other matters that we need to address before I adjourn court today?

MR. STRAWBRIDGE: None from Plaintiff, Your Honor.

1 MR. FITZGERALD: None for Defendants, Your Honor. 2 MS. TORRES: None from Student-Intervenors. 3 THE COURT: Thank you very much. 4 And I will look forward to getting the final document 5 related to the trial, and I can't give you an estimate on when 6 I will get that to you. Of course we have many other cases 7 that we have to deal with, and we are dealing with them in this 8 very difficult circumstance. But it is a priority for me, and 9 I will get it back to you as soon as I possibly can. 10 All right. Thank you very much. And court is adjourned. 11 12 (Proceedings concluded at 4:37 p.m.) 1.3 14 15 CERTIFICATE 16 I, LORI RUSSELL, RMR, CRR, United States District Court Reporter for the Middle District of North Carolina, DO HEREBY 17 CERTIFY: 18 That the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the proceedings had in the within-entitled action; that I reported 19 the same in stenotype to the best of my ability and thereafter reduced same to typewriting through the use of Computer-Aided 20 Transcription. 21 2.2 23 Date: 12/18/2020 Lori Russell, RMR, CRR Official Court Reporter 24 25